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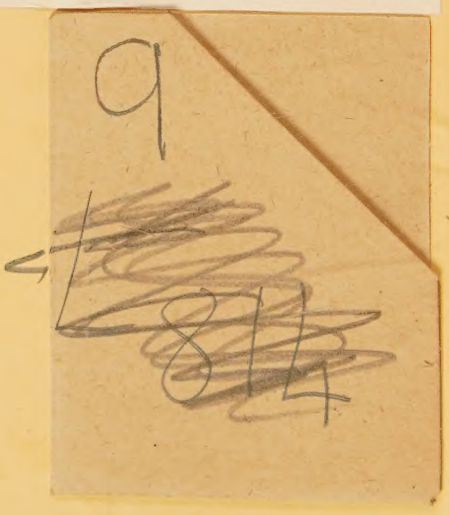

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HISTORY

OF

OLIVER CROMWELL

AND THE

ENGLISH COMMONWEALTH.

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HISTORY

OF

OLIVER CROMWELL

AND THE

ENGLISH COMMONWEALTH,

FROM THE EXECUTION OF CHARLES THE FIRST TO THE DEATH OF CROMWELL:

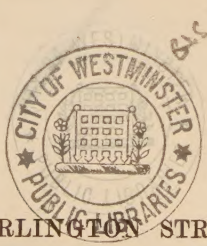
BY M. GUIZOT.

TRANSLATED BY ANDREW R. SCOBLE.

SECOND EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.



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HISTORY

OF

OLIVER CROMWELL

AND

THE ENGLISH COMMONWEALTH.

BOOK V.

PUBLIC INDIFFERENCE TO THE EXPULSION OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT—CROMWELL'S MANIFESTO TO JUSTIFY HIS CONDUCT—HE ASSUMES POSSESSION OF THE GOVERNMENT—CONVOCATION OF THE BAREBONE PARLIAMENT—CROMWELL'S OPENING SPEECH—CHARACTER AND ACTS OF THE BAREBONE PARLIAMENT—PREVALENCE OF THE MYSTICAL REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT AMONG ITS MEMBERS—ITS INEFFICIENCY AND RESIGNATION—CROMWELL IS PROCLAIMED PROTECTOR—PLOTS OF THE REPUBLICANS AND CAVALIERS—LILBURNE, GERARD, AND VOWELL—GOVERNMENT OF CROMWELL; HIS COURT; HIS REFORMS—SCOTLAND AND IRELAND ARE INCORPORATED WITH ENGLAND—FOREIGN POLICY OF CROMWELL—PEACE WITH HOLLAND—WHITELOCKE'S EMBASSY TO SWEDEN—CROMWELL'S TREATIES WITH SWEDEN, DENMARK, AND PORTUGAL—CROMWELL'S RELATIONS WITH SPAIN AND FRANCE—ELECTION OF A NEW PARLIAMENT—CROMWELL'S OPENING SPEECH—HOSTILITY OF THE PARLIAMENT—CROMWELL'S SECOND SPEECH, AND SECESSION OF A NUMBER OF MEMBERS—RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES BY THE PARLIAMENT—CROMWELL'S THIRD SPEECH—DISSOLUTION OF THE PARLIAMENT.

THE expulsion of the Long Parliament awakened no feeling but indifferent and derisive curiosity, both

in London and throughout the country. Not an arm, not a voice was raised in its defence. "We do not even hear a dog bark at their going," said Cromwell, in his coarse delight at his triumph. To this hatred and contempt for the vanquished, was added that movement of popular admiration which daring and victorious force always inspires: Cromwell had alone decided, and personally accomplished, this great act. A host of congratulatory addresses were sent to him, dictated, some by that servile enthusiasm which hastens to hail the conqueror, but most by the mystical exultation of the sectaries, who hoped that the fall of the Parliament would introduce the reign of the Lord. Other addresses, of a far more important character, arrived,—from the army in Scotland, which approved unrestrictedly of all that had been done; from the army in Ireland, which merely signified its submission, and recommended the maintenance of discipline, without giving any pledge of political adherence; and finally, from the fleet, which the Parliament had treated with such care and predilection, but which was controlled, in Blake's absence, by the influence of Monk, who had long been disposed to connect his own fortunes with Cromwell's greatness, and whose co-operation Cromwell had secured, before attempting his *coup d'état*. Either from accident or design, Blake had been sent, a fortnight previously, on a cruise to the north of Scotland; while moored before Aberdeen, he received the news of the fall of the Parliament; he immediately assembled his captains on board his own vessel. Some of them, sincere

republicans like himself, urged him to declare against Cromwell. "No," he said, "it is not for us to mind affairs of state, but to keep foreigners from fooling us;" and from that day forward, abandoning politics his only aim was to conquer for his country, whoever might be its master.[1]

In the City of London, some of the aldermen ventured a petition "to his Excellency the Lord General," begging him "that the late dissolved Parliament might be suffered again to sit, in order to a new Representative, and that they might regularly dissolve themselves." But a counter-petition immediately arrived from the City, accusing the aldermen who had signed the first, of not having forgotten monarchy, assuring Cromwell of support, and humbly desiring "that he would not look backward, but proceed vigorously in effecting what the Lord and his people, and this poor languishing nation, expect from him, and he has often published."[2]

Both from desire and instinct, it was Cromwell's plan to proceed boldly; but, on the very day after his easy victory, and although no open resistance was offered, obstacles appeared. Great acts of the Divine justice are always combined with great severities, and are frequently executed by instruments which neither inspire confidence, nor command respect. When it fell, the Long Parliament had deserved its fate; it

[1] Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. ii. p. 383; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. pp. 143—147; Milton's State Papers, pp. 90—97 Cromwelliana, pp. 119—124; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 195; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 71; Dixon's Life of Blake, pp. 244—249.

[2] Cromwelliana, p. 124; Whitelocke, p. 557.

had sometimes misunderstood, and sometimes violated its own principles; it had assumed as rights the evil necessities created by its faults; it had proved itself equally incapable of governing and being governed. Nevertheless, it numbered among its members many men of rare talent and virtue, who, even after their fall, were still held in just estimation; and many honest men who, notwithstanding their obstinate adherence to false views, had been sincerely anxious to promote the welfare of their country, and consequently met with respect and sympathy, on their retirement into private life. They no longer had any power to exercise or defend; men were therefore more disposed to listen to them; they made no attempt to overthrow their conqueror, but they spoke more freely of him, of his past actions, of his future designs.—Whom had not Cromwell deceived? To whom had he not stated the exact opposite of what he had said elsewhere? Was he not himself obnoxious to all the charges which he had brought against the Parliament? Who could now believe in his disinterestedness, or rely on his promises? Was it to bow before the sword of a general that England had broken the sceptre of a king? Questions like these, occurring to every mind, awakened old animosities, and aroused unfortunate suspicions; and M. de Bordeaux was well informed when, a fortnight after the successful accomplishment of the *coup d'état,* he wrote to the Count de Brienne: "The little satisfaction which the public manifest at being governed by the officers of war, and at finding themselves deprived of their

ancient privileges, by the suppression of the Parliament, added to the diversity of opinions and religions of which the army is composed, gives the general considerable anxiety, it is said, and causes him to fear that his enterprise will not be so durable or successful as he expected."[1]

Cromwell, however, had not lost a moment in attempting to gain public approval of his conduct. Two days after the expulsion of the Parliament, a Declaration appeared, in the name of the Lord General and his Council of Officers, explaining their motives, and setting forth the misdeeds of the Parliament, the dangers of the Commonwealth, and the vain efforts of the army to prevent a rupture. A few days after this, a second Declaration, emanating from the same authorities, made a fresh effort to the same end. But these documents, cold and embarrassed in style, produced little effect. It was necessary to get out of this precarious position, and to obtain, for a power which was as yet without form and name, some real or apparent sanction on the part of the country. Cromwell sent for Mr. John Carew and Major Salway, two staunch republicans with whom he had remained on good terms. He complained to them "of the great weight of affairs that by this undertaking was fallen upon him, affirming that the thought of the consequences thereof made him tremble; and he therefore desired them to free him from the temptations that might be laid before him, and, to that end, to go immediately to the Chief-Justice St. John, Mr. Selden,

[1] Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

and some others, and endeavour to persuade them to draw up some instrument that might put the power out of his hands." "Sir," answered Major Salway, "the way to free you from this temptation is for you not to look upon yourself as being under it, but to rest persuaded that the power of the nation is in the good people of England, as formerly it was."[1]

Cromwell accordingly assembled at Whitehall the principal men, both officers and civilians, who were near at hand; and at this meeting, at which Carew and Salway were present, it was resolved to summon, from all parts of the Commonwealth, a certain number of "known persons, men fearing God, and of approved integrity," to whom the supreme power should be intrusted. But, as time would be required for their selection and arrival, a Council of State was, in the interim, appointed to conduct the government. Opinions differed as to the number of members of whom it should be composed. Lambert and the more worldly men wished that it should consist of ten persons only, that affairs might be carried on more rapidly; Harrison proposed seventy, the number of the Jewish Sanhedrin; Colonel Okey and other saints insisted on thirteen, as symbolical of Christ and his twelve apostles. Their opinion prevailed, and on the 29th of April, a State Council of thirteen members, nine military men and four civilians,

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 137; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. ii. p. 385; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. ii. p. 520; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 195; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. p. 133.

was installed at Whitehall, under the presidency of Cromwell, who announced it to the public, on the next day, by a declaration in his own name, and signed by himself alone: a circumstance which was remarked even then, as indicative of his future designs.[1]

It is said that, notwithstanding the public affronts which he had so recently received at Westminster, Sir Harry Vane, who had retired to his country-seat in Lincolnshire, received an invitation to form part of this new Council of State; and replied that "he believed the reign of the Saints would now begin, but, for his part, he was willing to defer his share in it until he came to Heaven."[2]

Meanwhile, inquiry was made in every direction for those unknown depositaries to whom the sovereignty was to be transferred. Pious and faithful men were wanted, who should not have put themselves forward as candidates, who should not have issued, maimed and mutilated, from the conflicts of popular election, and who should owe their appointment solely to the holiness of their life, duly attested, by the common consent of true Christians, to the power whose duty it was to select them. Those preachers who had influence in the counties assembled their congregations, to consult with them before making such

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 151; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. ii. p. 386; Cromwelliana, p. 122; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 240—395; Whitelocke, p. 555; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iii. pp. 514—520; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. p. 128.

[2] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 265.

difficult choice. Cromwell and his officers held frequent meetings, either to invoke the Divine guidance and blessing, or to examine the names and particulars transmitted to them. The malcontents of every sort, Royalists and Parliamentarians, did their best to cast derision and insult on these proceedings of the new masters of England. Cromwell, they said, pretended that he was in direct communication with the Holy Spirit, and invested his own wishes with the authority of orders dictated by God himself. But mockery is an unavailing weapon against enthusiasm and discipline; neither the sectaries, nor the soldiers of Cromwell were moved by it, and he pursued his work, without caring for such attacks, and ready to laugh at them himself when opportunity offered. "The reports spread about the Lord General are not true," wrote M. de Bordeaux to M. de Brienne; "he does really affect great piety, but not any special communication with the Holy Spirit, and he is not so weak as to allow himself to be caught by flattery. I know that the Portuguese ambassador having complimented him on this change, he made a jest of it."[1] After a month spent in inquiries and consultations, Cromwell and his Council made a final selection of a hundred and thirty-nine persons—a hundred and twenty-two for England, six for Wales, five for Scotland, and six for Ireland. All these names had been carefully discussed; many, that of Fairfax for instance, though at first suggested, were rejected on further consideration; and several, which had been incorrectly written, were rectified, on

[1] Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

the list, by the hand of Cromwell himself. Some disaffected soldiers, who thought they had as much right to interfere in this operation as their officers, protested, by petition, against certain of those chosen. Cromwell took no notice of their petition, and on the 6th of June, 1653, when he had carefully determined on his list, he addressed, in his own name alone, letters of summons to the hundred and thirty-nine persons whom it specified. The summons was in these terms :—

"Forasmuch as, upon the dissolution of the late Parliament, it became necessary that the peace, safety, and good government of this Commonwealth should be provided for: and in order thereunto, divers persons fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty, are, by myself, with the advice of my council of officers, nominated; to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed: and having good assurance of your love to, and courage for, God and the interest of His cause, and that of the good people of this Commonwealth:—I, Oliver Cromwell, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the armies and forces raised and to be raised within this Commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you, being one of the persons nominated, personally to be and appear at the Council Chamber, commonly known or called by the name of the Council Chamber at Whitehall, within the City of Westminster, upon the Fourth day of July next ensuing the date hereof; then and there to take upon you the said trust, unto which you are hereby called, and appointed

to serve as a Member for the County of ——. And hereof you are not to fail."[1]

This satisfaction being once given to the constitutional scruples of those who surrounded him, until the meeting of this strange Parliament, Cromwell, by means sometimes of the Council of State, and sometimes of the General Council of Officers, took into his hands the entire government. Orders were issued for the continuation of the taxes voted by the expelled Parliament, for the maintenance of the army and fleet. Four judges, respecting whom suspicions were entertained, were dismissed, and two others appointed to try cases in Wales. "The General has sent the Master of the Ceremonies to all the foreign ambassadors," wrote M. de Bordeaux to M. de Brienne, "to assure them that this change will in no degree alter the good understanding and friendship which may exist between their masters and this State, and that, in a few days, we shall know with whom we have to treat."[2] The Council of State, indeed, soon after appointed five of its members to resume the negotiations which had been commenced with the ministers of France and Portugal. Envoys arrived from the States-General of Holland, and from the Grand Duke of Tuscany; they were received without delay.[3]

[1] Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. ii. pp. 386, 387; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 151; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 256, 274, 289, 306; Commons Journals, vol. vii. p. 282; Whitelocke, p. 557; Heath's Chronicle, p. 639; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iii. pp. 521—524.

[2] Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

[3] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 239; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iii. pp. 525—528.

Neither the diplomatic relations nor the internal affairs of the country suffered any interruption. "Our great change, from a hundred and fifty or two hundred governors to ten, has been effected without noise or sorrow," wrote a London merchant, named Morrell, to Cardinal Mazarin, with whom he maintained a regular correspondence; "seeing that the others in four years have done nothing for the good of the people, either by land or sea, we hope better things of ten than of two hundred—greater secrecy, more promptitude, less speechifying, more work, without wasting four years in harangues."[1]

At the same time that he thus took possession of the administration of public affairs, Cromwell was not inattentive to the security of private interests—his own as well as those of others. Disturbances, with which political passions were not unconnected, broke out in Cambridgeshire, in reference to a great draining of the fens which had been undertaken by a company of which he was one of the principal promoters; he wrote at once to the agent of the company—"I hear some unruly persons have lately committed great outrages in Cambridgeshire, about Swaffham and Botsham, in throwing down the works making by the adventurers, and menacing those they employ thereabout. Wherefore I desire you to send one of my troops, with a captain, who may by all means persuade the people to quiet, by letting them know they must not riotously do anything, for that must not be

[1] Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

suffered; but that if there be any wrong done by the adventurers, upon complaint, such course shall be taken as appertains to justice, and right will be done."[1] He further induced the Council of State to take the necessary measures for securing the reparation of any damages, if the troops were not sufficient to prevent them.

A few days afterwards he experienced one of those accidents of fortune, which give strength and grandeur to newly established authorities, as they appear to be special marks of the Divine favour. After having been suspended for a time by the victory gained by Blake over the Dutch in the month of February preceding, the naval war had recommenced, and was sustained, on the part of the English, by the squadrons equipped, and the admirals appointed, by the Parliament. Tromp held the sea for the United Provinces; he was despondent and hopeless, for his fleet, though numerous, was composed for the most part of battered and ill-manned ships; but his courage and skill were undiminished, and he had Ruyter, De Witt, and Floritz for his lieutenants. He had just returned from escorting a large convoy of merchantmen, when he learned that the English fleet was divided, that Blake had sailed northwards, and that Monk and Dean, with about a hundred sail, were cruising to the north of the Straits of Dover, between Ramsgate and Nieuport. He immediately sailed to encounter them, and on the 2nd of June, the action, in

[1] Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. ii. p. 385; Cromwelliana, p. 128.

which both fleets were equally desirous to engage, began with great vigour, especially on the part of the English. At the first broadside, Dean, who that very morning, beset by gloomy presentiments, had spent a longer time than usual in prayer in his cabin, was struck dead by a cannon shot as he stood by the side of Monk on board their flag-ship, the *Resolution*. Monk threw his cloak over the mangled corpse of his colleague, and continued the fight with renewed ardour. Night at length separated the two fleets, which had suffered almost equally in the conflict. The action began again, on the following day, somewhat late, for Tromp had spent the whole morning in unsuccessful attempts to recover the weather-gage. He was unaware that, either from instinct or from information which had reached him announcing a battle, Blake was at that very moment making all sail towards the South in order to take part in the action. Suddenly the booming of his artillery was heard behind the Dutch fleet, and in a few moments, a young officer who bore his name, Captain Robert Blake, breaking through the Dutch line, was the first to rejoin the English squadron, amid the joyous cheers of the sailors, whose courage revived at this announcement of the speedy arrival of the Sea King, as they called Blake. Tromp's energy and obstinacy increased with the danger; animated by his reproaches and example, the crew of his vessel, the *Brederode*, boarded Vice-Admiral Penn's flag-ship, the *James*; the English vigorously repulsed their assailants, entered the *Brederode* pell-mell with them, and had

already gained possession of the quarter-deck, when Tromp, determined not to be taken alive, threw a lighted match into the powder-magazine, and blew up the deck of the *Brederode* with all those who occupied it. The report immediately spread through the Dutch fleet that their admiral was dead; the whole fleet was thrown into disorder; and several captains took to flight. Tromp, who had escaped by miracle, left the disabled *Brederode* for a fast-sailing frigate, in which he flew through the line of Dutch ships, encouraging the brave to renew the fight, and firing on the timid as they fled. But all his efforts were vain; he was obliged to retreat in his turn, and make sail towards the ports of Holland, hotly pursued by the English. On the following day, the 4th of June, Monk and Blake wrote to announce their victory to Cromwell, and to report the capture of eleven Dutch vessels and 1350 prisoners. Tromp, Ruyter, and De Witt, on their side, hastened to communicate their defeat and its causes to the States-General; declaring that they would go to sea no more unless their fleet were better armed, more abundantly provided with stores, and reinforced by a number of larger ships. "Why should I keep silence any longer?" said Cornelius de Witt, in the Assembly of the States. "I am here before my sovereigns; I am free to speak: and I must say that the English are at present masters both of us and of the seas."[1]

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 148; Cromwelliana, pp. 124, 125; Whitelocke, p. 557; Dixon's Life of Blake, pp. 249—253; Memorials of Sir William Penn, vol. i. pp. 491—499; Leclerc's Histoire des

The thanksgiving ordered by the Council of State for this victory had scarcely ceased to resound throughout England, when the assembly of Cromwell's election met, on the 4th of July, in the Council Chamber at Whitehall, in obedience to the order he had issued. Two only of those summoned did not attend. They were seated on chairs arranged around the room, when Cromwell entered, accompanied by a large number of officers. All rose and uncovered at his appearance. Cromwell also took off his hat, and, placing himself with his back to a window opposite the middle of the room, with his hand resting on a chair, he thus addressed them: "Gentlemen, I suppose the summons that hath been instrumental to bring you hither gives you well to understand the occasion of your being here. Howbeit I have something further to impart to you, which is an instrument drawn up by the consent and advice of the principal officers of the army; which is a little (as we conceive) more significant than the letter of summons. We have that here to tender you; and somewhat likewise to say farther to you for our own exoneration, which we hope may be somewhat farther for your satisfaction. And withal, seeing you sit here somewhat uneasily by reason of the scantiness of the room, and heat of the weather, I shall contract myself with respect thereunto." And feeling rather warm himself, he took off his cloak and gave it to an officer, who held it until the assembly broke up, just as

Provinces Unies, vol. ii. p. 333; Wicquefort's Histoire des Provinces Unies, vol. iv. p. 379; Brandt's Life of Ruyter, pp. 33—37; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 269, 270.

he would have done for the king on a similar occasion.[1]

Cromwell did not keep his word, for he spoke for more than two hours. He had not written his speech, and his ideas, however fixed they may have been at the outset, crowded upon his mind with such abundance and rapidity that he seemed rather to abandon himself to their current, than to attempt to arrange, extend, or limit them at his will. He was an entire stranger to oratorical art, to harmony of composition, and to elegance of language; he jumbled together, in chaotic confusion, narrative, reflection and argument, pious quotations, commentaries, interpellations, allusions, reminiscences, and speculations on the future; but a deeply political, practical, and precise intention animated all his words, pierced through their confusion, pervaded all their windings; and he impelled his auditors with resistless force towards the object which he wished to attain, by exciting in their minds, at every step, the impression which it was his object to produce. He began by reminding them of the great events they had witnessed from the opening of the Long Parliament to the battle of Worcester: civil war, the trial of the king, the defeat of his son, the subjugation of the three kingdoms—"those strange windings and turnings of Providence, those very great appearances of God, in crossing and thwarting the purposes of men, that he might raise up a poor and contemptible company of men, neither versed in

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 152; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. ii. pp. 390, 391; Leicester's Journal, p. 147.

military affairs, nor having much natural propensity to them, into wonderful success." He was anxious to fill the new assembly with a feeling of the power and right of the army, as the instrument and representative of the will of God, who had given it the victory over all its enemies. Thence he passed to a review of his recent conflict with the Parliament, and after having sanctified the army in the name of success, he justified it in the name of necessity. The Parliament had been willing neither to effect the reforms which the people demanded, nor to dissolve really, and restore to the people their free right of suffrage; the lawyers had spent three months in disputing on the meaning of the word *incumbrances*, without coming to an agreement; the conferences which had been obtained, with great difficulty, between the leaders of the Parliament and the officers of the army, had invariably ended in this answer — "the perpetuation of the Parliament can alone save the nation." And not only had they maintained themselves in possession of their seats, by the act which they had prepared for the regulation of new elections, but they had admitted into Parliament many Presbyterians, deserters and enemies of the good cause. "If we had been fought out of our liberties and rights," he said, "necessity would have taught us patience; but to deliver them up would render us the basest persons in the world, and worthy to be accounted haters of God and of his people." The Parliament had, therefore, been dissolved; "and," he continued, "the necessity which led us to do that, hath brought us to the present issue, of exercising an

extraordinary way and course to draw you together here. Truly God hath called you to this work, by, I think, as wonderful providences as ever passed upon the sons of men in so short a time. And truly, I think, taking the argument of necessity, for the Government must not fall; taking also the appearance of the hand of God in this thing,—I think you would have been loth it should have been resigned into the hands of wicked men and enemies. I am sure God would not have it so. It has come, therefore, to you by the way of necessity; by the way of the wise Providence of God, through weak hands." He then, according to his custom, made a parade of humility at the very moment that he was proving his authority and power. "Truly," he said, "it's better to pray for you than to counsel you; and yet, if he that means to be a servant to you, who hath now called you to the exercise of the supreme authority, discharge what he conceives to be a duty to you, we hope you will take it in good part;" and he proceeded to enlarge upon the conditions of good government, advising them to do justice to all, "to be as just towards an unbeliever as towards a believer," to show sympathy for the saints, and to be very compassionate to the infirmities of the saints. "Therefore, I beseech you," he continued, "though I think I need not, have a care of the whole flock! Love the sheep, love the lambs; love all, tender all, cherish and countenance all, in all things that are good. And if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, shall desire to live peaceably and quietly under you,—I say, if any shall desire

but to lead a life of godliness and honesty, let him be protected. I confess I have said sometimes, foolishly it may be, I had rather miscarry to a believer than an unbeliever. This may seem a paradox: but let's take heed of doing that which is evil to either! I think I need not advise, much less press you, to endeavour the promoting of the Gospel; to encourage the ministry; such a ministry and ministers as be faithful in the land. Indeed I have but one word more to say to you, though in that, perhaps, I shall show my weakness; it's by way of encouragement to go on in this work. Perhaps you are not known by face to one another; indeed, I am confident you are strangers, coming from all parts of the nation as you do. I dare appeal to all your consciences; neither directly nor indirectly did you seek for your coming hither. You have been passive in coming hither — being called. Therefore own your call! I think it may be truly said that there never was a supreme authority consisting of such a body, above one hundred and forty, I believe; never such a body that came into the supreme authority before, under such a notion as this, in such a way of owning God, and being owned by him;—if it were a time to compare your standing with that of those that have been called by the suffrages of the people! Who can tell how soon God may fit the people for such a thing? None can desire it more than I! But this is some digression. I say, own your call, for it is of God!"[1]

[1] Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. ii. pp. 390—420; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. pp. 153—175; Milton's State Papers, pp. 106.

How admirable are these instincts on the part of a profound genius, anxious to derive from God that pretended supreme power which he had himself established, and the inherent infirmity of which he already perceived!

The assembly listened to Cromwell with favour and respect. It was not, as some have stated, composed entirely of men of obscure origin and low condition; it included many names illustrious by birth or achievements, and a considerable number of country gentlemen and citizens, of importance in their respective towns and counties, landed proprietors, merchants, tradesmen, or artizans. Most of its members were unquestionably men of orderly life, neither spendthrifts nor in debt, not seekers after employments or adventures, but devotedly attached to their country and their religion, and deficient neither in courage nor in independence. But their habits, their ideas, and even their virtues were narrow and petty, like the social position of most of them. They had more private honesty than political intelligence and spirit; and, notwithstanding the uprightness of their intentions, the probity of their character, and the earnestness of their piety, they were incapable of feeling, and even of comprehending, the high mission to which the will of Cromwell had called them.

They began, however, by appropriating to themselves the name, the forms, and all the external signs of their new rank. They transferred their

—114; Despatch from Don Alonzo de Cardeñas to King Philip IV. July 17, 1653, in the Archives of Simancas.

sittings to Westminster, to the room in which the House of Commons had formerly met. There they received and solemnly read an instrument, signed by the Lord General and his officers, which devolved upon them the supreme authority, and imposed on them an obligation not to retain it after the 3rd of November, 1654, but three months before that time, to make choice of other persons to succeed them, who were not to sit longer than a year, and were then to determine the future government of the country. They resolved, after a long debate, and by a majority of sixty-five votes against forty-six, that they would assume the name of the Parliament. They elected as their Speaker Mr. Francis Rouse, who had been a member of the Long Parliament; ordered that the mace, which Cromwell had removed, should be replaced on their table; appointed a Council of State of thirty-one members, with instructions similar to those given to the preceding Council; and, in short, resumed all the prerogatives und re-established all the usages of the expelled Parliament.[1]

Cromwell and his officers had made them a Parliament; to show their gratitude, they voted, in their turn, that the Lord General, Major-Generals Lambert, Harrison, and Desborough, and Colonel Tomlinson should be invited to sit with them as members of the House.[2]

On the day on which they installed themselves at

[1] Commons Journals, vol. vii. pp. 284—285; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iii. p. 531; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. p. 163. [2] Commons Journals, vol. vii. p. 281.

Westminster, they devoted nearly their whole sitting to pious exercises; not, as the previous Parliament had done, by attending sermons preached by specially appointed ministers, but by themselves engaging in spontaneous prayers, without the assistance of any professional ecclesiastic. Eight or ten members often spoke in succession, invoking the Divine blessing on their labours, or commenting on passages of Scripture; "and some affirmed," says one of them, "they never enjoyed so much of the spirit and presence of Christ in any of the meetings and exercises of religion in all their lives as they did that day." They therefore persisted in this practice, and instead of appointing a chaplain every day, as soon as a few members had arrived, one of them engaged in prayer, and others followed him, until a sufficient number had assembled to open the sitting and begin business. On the day after their installation, they voted that a special day should be devoted to the solemn invocation of the Divine blessing upon their future acts; and having discharged this duty, with a view to induce the nation to join its prayers to their own, for the same purpose, they published a Declaration, which is expressive at once of proud hopes, of mystical enthusiasm, and of feelings of the deepest humility. "We declare ourselves," they said, "to be the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England. . . . When we look upon ourselves, we are much afraid, and tremble at the mighty work and heavy weight before us, which we justly acknowledge far above, and quite beyond, our strength to wield or poise; so that

we oft cry out and say with Jehoshaphat, *O Lord we know not what to do, but our eye is towards thee!* . . . We hope that God, in His great and free goodness, will not forsake His people; and that we may be fitted and used as instruments in His hand, that all oppressing yokes may be broken, and all burdens removed, and the loins also of the poor and needy may be filled with blessing; that all nations may turn their swords and spears into plough-shares and pruning-hooks, that the wolf may feed with the lamb, and the earth be full of the knowledge of God, as waters cover the sea. This is all we say, If this undertaking be from God, let Him prosper and bless it, and let every one take heed of fighting against God; but if not, let it fall, though we fall before it."[1]

Thus strengthened and confident, they set to work finally to effect those reforms which had been so long and so earnestly desired. Twelve committees were appointed for this purpose; two were intrusted with the settlement of the affairs of Scotland and Ireland, and their incorporation with England; a third had instructions to prepare various measures of law reform; and to a fourth was submitted the question of tithes, which was regarded with the liveliest interest, not only by the clergy and sectaries, but also by political men generally. The naval and military establishments, the public revenue, the public debts and frauds upon the State, petitions, commerce, and cor-

[1] Commons Journals, vol. vii. pp. 281—283; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. pp. 181—189; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. pp. 166—171; Leicester's Journal, p. 148.

porations, the condition of the poor, the state of the prisons, the promotion of education, and the advancement of learning, occupied the attention of eight other committees. The bills thus prepared were to be immediately submitted to the Parliament for discussion, and voted upon without delay.[1]

The ardour and assiduity of these committees, and of the Parliament itself, in their respective labours, were great. The Parliament voted that it would meet at eight o'clock in the morning of every day in the week, excepting Sunday. Neither the committees nor the Council of State were to meet while the Parliament was sitting, for the presence of all their members was required in the House itself, and they had to attend to their special missions before and after the general sittings of the House. In a short time, they presented numerous reports to Parliament; the question of tithes, reforms in civil and criminal law, the administration of the finances, the condition and payment of the army, the settlement of debts and the division of lands in Ireland, pauperism, prisons, and petitions formed, one after another, the subjects of long and animated debates.[2] A sincere zeal animated the assembly; questions and considerations of private interest had but little influence in their deliberations; like bold and honest men, their only thought was how they might best serve and reform the State.

[1] Commons Journals, vol. vii. pp. 283, 286, 287, 288, 323, 326.

[2] Ibid., vol. vii. pp. 338, 285, 286, 288, 290, 292, 293, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 308, 310, 315, 316, 324, 326, 327, 330, 331, 334, 341, 354.

But two contingencies which popular reformers never foresee, obstacles and speculative theories, soon arose. In order to accomplish great reforms in a great society, without destroying its peace, the legislator must possess extraordinary wisdom and a high position: reforms, when they originate with the lower classes, are inseparable from revolutions. The Parliament of Cromwell's election was neither sufficiently enlightened, nor sufficiently influential to reform English society, without endangering its tranquillity; and as, at the same time, it was neither so insane, nor so perverse, nor so strong, as blindly to destroy instead of reforming, it soon became powerless, in spite of its honesty and courage, and ridiculous, because it combined earnestness with impotence.

It found, however, one part of its task in a very advanced state: the two committees which the Long Parliament had appointed in 1651, one consisting of members of the House and the other of private individuals, for the purpose of preparing a scheme of law-reform, had left a large body of materials, in which most of the questions mooted were solved, and the solutions even given at length. Twenty-one bills,—seventeen on various points of judicial organization and civil legislation, and four on points of criminal law and police regulations, as to religion and morals, were ready prepared to receive the force of laws by the vote of the House. The new Parliament ordered that they should be reprinted and distributed among its members. After long debates, however, four measures of reform were alone carried; one to place under the

control of the civil magistrates, the celebration and registration of marriages, and the registration of births and deaths; the other three, for the relief of creditors and poor prisoners for debt, for the abolition of certain fines, and for the redress of certain delays in procedure. The collection of taxes, the concentration of all the revenues of the State in one public treasury, and the administration of the army and navy, also formed the subject of regulations which put an end to grave abuses. The question of the distribution of confiscated lands in Ireland, first among the subscribers to the various public loans, and then among the disbanded officers and soldiers, was finally settled. The salaries of the persons employed in several departments of the public service were reduced; and serious and persevering efforts were made to meet all the expenses, and discharge all the liabilities of the State. In these administrative matters, important, though but secondary, the Parliament was guided by a spirit of order, probity, and economy, highly honourable to itself and useful to the State, though frequently narrow and harsh in its application.[1]

But, when it came to treat of really great political questions, when it was in presence of the obstacles and enemies which those questions raised up against it, then the insufficiency of its information, its chimerical ideas, its anarchical tendencies, its internal dissensions, and the weakness of its position, became fully appa-

[1] Somers Tracts, vol. vi. pp. 177—245; Commons Journals, vol. vii. pp. 283, 292, 293, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 308, 310, 315, 316, 323, 324, 326, 327, 329, 330, 356—360.

rent. A large number of its members ardently longed to accomplish four innovations;—in ecclesiastical matters, they desired the abolition of tithes, and of lay patronage in presentations to benefices; in civil affairs, they demanded the suppression of the Court of Chancery, and the substitution of a single code for the vast collections of statutes, customs, and precedents which formed the law of the country. Not only were these innovations naturally opposed by those classes whose interests would be seriously affected by their adoption, by the clergy, the lay impropriators, the magistrates, the lawyers, and all the professions dependent on these; but they interfered, more or less directly, with those rights of property and hereditary succession which could not be infringed upon, even in the slightest degree, without shaking the whole framework of society. Accordingly, whenever these vital questions were mooted, a deep schism arose in the Parliament: the men who were swayed by class or professional interest, or by a conservative spirit, vehemently opposed the suggested innovations; and those who, in their desires for reform, had still retained their good sense, demanded that, before the institutions and rights in question were abolished, the House should inquire into the best means of supplying the place of the institutions, and indemnifying the possessors of the rights for their loss. But the reformers, wilfully or blindly obedient to the revolutionary spirit, required that, in the first instance, the innovations which they demanded should be resolved upon, and the principle which they involved be absolutely admitted, and that the House should then inquire what was to be done

to fill up the vacancies, and repair the losses which they had occasioned. They did not know what powerful and intimate ties connected the institutions which they attacked with the very foundations of English society, nor how much time and care would be necessary to reform an abuse without injury to the sacred right, or the necessary power, on which it rested. They gained a temporary victory, however, on three questions: the abolition of tithes, of lay patronage, and of the Court of Chancery, and the compilation of a single code, were adopted in principle; but the interests thus injured were strong and skilful; they formed a powerful coalition, and opposed to the practical execution of these general resolutions, such hindrances and delays as rendered them entirely nugatory. Irritated at this resistance, the revolutionary spirit became increasingly manifest; strange propositions multiplied,—some of them puerile, as this, "that all who have applied for offices shall be incapable of public employment;" others menacing, not only to the higher classes, but to all who had a settled occupation, from the demagogic and destructive mysticism which they exhibited. Although strongly opposed in their progress through Parliament, these propositions were always sooner or later adopted; for the zealous and mystical sectaries, with Major-General Harrison at their head, daily obtained a greater preponderance in the House. From their friends out of doors they received impetuous encouragement and support: all questions, whether political or religious, which at any time occupied the attention of Parliament, were discussed at the same time by meetings

of private citizens, unlimited as to numbers, unrestricted as to ideas and language. Two Anabaptist preachers, Christopher Feake and Vavasor Powell, may be particularly mentioned: these eloquent enthusiasts held meetings every Monday at Blackfriars, which were crowded by multitudes of hearers, mutually encouraging one another to a spirit of opposition and revolution. At these meetings, foreign politics were treated of, as well as home affairs, with equal violence and even greater ignorance; war with the United Provinces was a favourite theme of the two preachers. "God," they maintained, "had given Holland into the hands of the English: it was to be the landing-place of the saints, whence they shall proceed to pluck the whore of Babylon from her chair, and to establish the kingdom of Christ on the Continent." "Last Monday, in the afternoon," wrote Beverning, the Dutch ambassador in London, to his friend, John de Witt, "I went to the meeting at Blackfriars. The scope and intention of it is to preach down governments, and to stir up the people against the United Netherlands. Being then in the assembly of the saints, I heard one prayer and two sermons; but, good God! what cruel and abominable, and most horrid trumpets of fire, murder, and flame! I thought upon the answer which our Saviour gave to James and John,—'*Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.*'"[1]

[1] Commons Journals, vol. vii. pp. 283, 284, 285, 286, 296, 304, 352, 335, 336, 321, 325, 333, 334, 346, 340; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. ii. pp. 429, 430; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 442, 591, 641; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iii. pp. 570—576, vol. iv. pp. 58—60; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. p. 215.

Cromwell was an attentive observer of these disorders and conflicts. It was in the name and with the support of the reforming sectaries that he had expelled the Long Parliament, and assumed possession of the supreme power; and he had very recently combined with them in demanding what they now sought to obtain. But he had quickly perceived that such innovators, though useful instruments of destruction, were destructive to the very power they had established; and that the classes among whom conservative interests prevailed, were the natural and permanent allies of authority. Besides, he was influenced by no principles or scruples powerful enough to prevent him, when occasion required, from changing his conduct and seeking out other friends. To govern was his sole aim; whoever stood in the way of his attainment of the reins of government, or of his continuance at the head of the State, was his adversary;—he had no friends but his agents. The landed proprietors, the clergy, and the lawyers, had need of him, and were ready to support him if he would defend them: he made an alliance with them, thus completely changing his position, and becoming an aristocrat and conservative instead of a democrat and revolutionist. But he was an able and prudent man, and he knew the art of breaking with old allies only so far as suited his purpose, and of humouring them even when he intended to break with them. He sent for the principal leaders of the sectaries, the Anabaptist preacher, Feake, among others; upbraided them with the blind violence of their opposition which, both at home and abroad, tended only to

the advantage of their common enemies, and declared that they would be responsible for all the consequences that might ensue. "My lord," said Feake, "I wish that what you have said, and what I answer, may be recorded in heaven; it is your tampering with the king, and your assuming an exorbitant power, which have made these disorders." "When I heard you begin with a record in heaven," answered Cromwell, "I did not expect that you would have told such a lie upon earth; but, rest assured, that whensoever we shall be harder pressed by the enemy than we have yet been, it will be necessary to begin first with you." And he dismissed them without further rebuke.[1] But his resolution was taken; and, in his soul, the fate of a Parliament in which such persons had so much influence, was irrevocably determined.

On Monday, the 12th of December, 1653, a number of members devoted to Cromwell, were observed to enter the House of Commons at an unusually early hour. Francis Rouse, the Speaker, arrived shortly after them, and as soon as ever it was possible, a House was formed. The members of the reform party, astonished at an enthusiasm for which there was no apparent motive, and suspecting some secret design, sent messengers in all directions to entreat the immediate attendance of their friends. But no sooner had prayers been said, than Colonel Sydenham rose to address the House. "He must take leave," he said, "to unburthen himself of some things that had long lain upon his heart. He had to speak, not of matters

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 621; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 199.

relating to the well-being of the Commonwealth, but that were inseparable from its very existence." He then made a most violent attack upon the measures of the Parliament, and particularly of a majority of its members. "They aimed," he went on to say, "at no less than destroying the clergy, the law, and the property of the subject. Their purpose was to take away the law of the land, and the birthrights of Englishmen, for which all had so long been contending with their blood, and to substitute in their room a code, modelled on the law of Moses, and which was adapted only for the nation of the Jews. In the heat of a preposterous fervour, they had even laid the axe to the root of the Christian ministry, alleging that it was Babylonish, and that it was Antichrist. They were the enemies of all intellectual cultivation, and all learning. They had also brought forward motions which, in no equivocal manner, indicated a deep-laid design for the total dissolution of the army. In these circumstances," continued Sydenham, "he could no longer satisfy himself to sit in that House; and he moved that the continuance of this Parliament, as now constituted, would not be for the good of the Commonwealth; and that, therefore, it was requisite that the House, in a body, should repair to the Lord-General, to deliver back into his hands the powers which they had received from him." Colonel Sydenham's motion was at once seconded by Sir Charles Wolseley, a gentleman of Oxfordshire, and one of Cromwell's confidants.[1]

[1] Commons Journals, vol. vii. p. 363; Somers Tracts, vol. vi. pp.

Notwithstanding their surprise and indignation, the reformers defended themselves; one of them rose immediately, to protest against the motion. He treated most of Colonel Sydenham's assertions as calumnies, enumerated the various measures conducive to the public advantage that had been passed, or were still in progress, extolled in the highest terms the disinterestedness of the Parliament, and its zeal for the public good, and earnestly protested against the adoption of a measure fraught with such incalculable calamities as the voluntary resignation of that Parliament would prove. Other members spoke to the same effect; some said that they had to propose means of reconciliation which would satisfy all parties. The debate promised to be of considerable duration. Many of the reformers, who had been sent for, were now arriving, and the issue seemed exceedingly doubtful. Rouse, the Speaker, suddenly left the chair, and broke up the sitting. The serjeant took up the mace and carried it before him, as he left the hall. About forty members followed him, and they proceeded together towards Whitehall. Thirty or thirty-five members remained in the House, in great indignation and embarrassment, for they were not sufficiently numerous to make a House; but twenty-seven of them, Harrison among the number, resolved to keep their seats, and proposed to pass the time in prayer. But

266—284; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 199, 200; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. pp. 239—244; Whitelocke, p. 570; Cromwelliana, p. 130; Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 331; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iii. pp. 523—592; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. pp. 216—222.

two officers, Colonel Goffe and Major White, suddenly entered the House, and desired them to withdraw; they answered that they would not do so, unless compelled by force. White called in a file of musketeers; the House was cleared, and sentinels were placed at the doors, in charge of the keys.[1]

The Cavaliers, in their ironical narratives of the occurrence, assert that, on entering the House, White said to Harrison: "What do you here?" "We are seeking the Lord," replied Harrison. "Then," returned White, "you may go elsewhere, for, to my certain knowledge, he has not been here these twelve years."[2]

Meanwhile, the Speaker, and the members who had accompanied him, had arrived at Whitehall. They first of all went into a private room, and hurriedly wrote a brief resignation of their power into Cromwell's hands. This they signed, and then demanded an interview with the Lord General. He expressed extreme surprise at their proceeding, declaring that he was not prepared for such an offer, nor able to load himself with so heavy and serious a burden. But Lambert, Sydenham, and the other members present, insisted; their resolution was taken;—he must accept the restoration of power which he had himself conferred. He yielded at last. The act of abdication was left open for three or four days, for the signatures of those members who had not come to Whitehall; and it soon exhibited eighty names—a majority of the

[1] Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. ii. pp. 219—220.
[2] Ibid.

whole assembly. Cromwell had slain the Long Parliament with his own hand; he did not vouchsafe so much honour to the Parliament which he had himself created; a ridiculous act of suicide, and the ridiculous nickname which it derived from one of its most obscure members, Mr. Praisegod Barebone,[1] a leather-seller in the city of London, are the only recollections which this assembly has left in history. And yet, it was deficient neither in honesty nor in patriotism; but it was absolutely wanting in dignity when it allowed its existence to rest on a falsehood, and in good sense when it attempted to reform the whole framework of English society: such a task was infinitely above its strength and capacity. The Barebone Parliament had been intended by Cromwell as an expedient; it disappeared as soon as it attempted to become an independent power.

Four days after the fall of the Barebone Parliament, on the 16th of December, 1653, at one o'clock in the afternoon, a pompous cavalcade proceeded from Whitehall to Westminster, between a double line of soldiery. The Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Judges, the Council of State, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, in their scarlet robes and state carriages, headed the proces-

[1] Mr. Godwin (History of the Commonwealth, vol. iii. p. 524) and Mr. Forster (Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. p. 144) have taken considerable pains to establish that this person's real name was *Barbone*, and not *Barebone*, and thus to remove the ridicule attaching to the latter name; but, by their own admission, the writ of summons addressed to this member spells his name as *Barebone*; I have therefore retained this spelling, which seems to be at once officially and historically correct.

sion. After them came Cromwell, in a simple suit of black velvet, with long boots, and a broad gold band round his hat. His guards and a large number of gentlemen, bareheaded, walked before his carriage, which was surrounded by the principal officers of the army, sword in hand, and hat on head. On arriving at Westminster Hall, the procession entered the Court of Chancery, at one end of which a chair of state had been placed. Cromwell stood in front of the chair, and as soon as the assembly was seated, Major-General Lambert announced the voluntary dissolution of the late Parliament, and in the name of the army, of the three nations, and of the exigencies of the time, prayed the Lord General to accept the office of Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

After a moment's modest hesitation, Cromwell expressed his readiness to undertake the charge. One of the clerks of the council, Mr. Jessop, then read the act or instrument in which the constitution of the Protectoral Government was embodied in forty-two articles. Cromwell thereupon read and signed the oath, "to take upon him the protection and government of these nations, in the manner expressed in the form of government hereunto annexed." Lambert, falling on his knees, offered to the Lord Protector a civic sword in the scabbard, and Cromwell, on receiving it, laid aside his own, to denote thereby that he intended to govern no longer by military law alone. The Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Judges and the officers, pressed him to take his seat in the chair of state provided for him. He did so, and

put on his hat, while the rest remained uncovered. The Lord Mayor, in his turn, offered his sword to the Protector, who delivered it back again to him immediately, exhorting him to use it well. The ceremony was now consummated; the procession returned to Whitehall, greeted rather by general curiosity than by popular acclamations. Cromwell's chaplain, Mr. Lockier, delivered a solemn exhortation in the Banqueting Hall; and between four and five o'clock a triple discharge of artillery announced that the Lord Protector had taken up his residence in his palace of Whitehall. He was proclaimed without delay, under this title, in every quarter of London, and in all the counties and cities of England. The original intention had been, it is said, to confer upon him at once the title of king, and the instrument of government had been at first prepared in conformity with that idea; but either from natural prudence, or from consideration for the open opposition of some of his most intimate confidants, Cromwell himself discountenanced so abrupt a return to the monarchical system, and, in order still to retain the name of Commonwealth, would accept no other title but that of Protector.[1]

The Parliament might abdicate, but the Sectaries, Anabaptists, Millenarians, and others, did not feel disposed to do so. Two days after the installation of the Protector, a more numerous audience than usual

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. pp. 246—265; Cromwelliana, pp. 130, 131; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 632, 641, 644, 669; Whitelocke, pp. 571—577; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. pp. 223—228. See Appendix I.

assembled at Blackfriars, around the pulpit of their favourite preacher, Mr. Feake, whose denunciations of Cromwell were violent in the extreme. "Go and tell your Protector," he said, "that he has deceived the Lord's people, that he is a perjured villain. But he will not reign long; he will end worse than the last Protector did, that crooked tyrant, Richard. Tell him I said it." Feake was summoned before the Council, and placed in custody. Major-General Harrison, the most eminent man of the Anabaptist party, was asked whether he would acknowledge the new Protectoral Government; he frankly answered, "No." His commission was accordingly taken from him, and he received orders to retire home to Staffordshire, and keep quiet.[1]

Cromwell was not mistaken when he foresaw that from this source would proceed, if not his most serious danger, at all events his most troublesome embarrassments. Already, six months previously, he had found himself once more in presence of that indomitable Leveller, who, in the early days of the Commonwealth, had waged against him so vigorous and unceasing a warfare. On the 3rd of May, 1653, as soon as he heard of the expulsion of the Long Parliament, Lilburne wrote to Cromwell, in respectful but uncringing language, to request permission to return to England. As he had been banished by the Long Parliament, he hoped that Cromwell, though formerly his enemy, would grant him reparation for the

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 641; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 4, 5.

injustice done him by that assembly. Having received no answer to his letter, he returned to England without permission, and published, on his arrival in London, a pamphlet, entitled: "The Banished Man's Suit for Protection to General Cromwell." He was immediately arrested and imprisoned in Newgate. But he infinitely preferred imprisonment to exile, for while in Newgate, his own intrepid skill and the devoted attachment of his partisans enabled him daily to speak, write, and act, and to employ others to speak, write, and act for him. Cromwell, the Council of State, the law courts, and the Barebone Parliament, wer incessantly assailed by petitions from himself and his friends. Six of his adherents, in the name of "the young men and apprentices of the cities of London and Westminster, borough of Southwark, and the parts adjacent," appeared one day at the bar of the House to present a petition couched in violent and almost threatening language. The Speaker asked their names; one of them answered, "Our names are subscribed to the petition." And being again asked "If he knew of the making of this petition," he said, "He was commanded by the rest of his friends and fellow-apprentices not to answer any questions, but to demand an answer to their petition." The Parliament declared the petition to be seditious and scandalous, sent the petitioners to Bridewell, and ordered that Lilburne should be closely confined in Newgate. But it was impossible either to silence him or to make his friends forget him. Tired at last of this ceaseless and troublesome contest, Cromwell himself deter-

mined that he should be brought to trial. "Free-born John," wrote one of his confidants, "has been sent to the Old Bailey, and I think he will soon be hanged." To secure his condemnation, all those precautions were taken which the subtle or shameless dexterity of the servants of a powerful tyranny could possibly devise. The trial was to be hurried through with the utmost rapidity. It took place at the time when the most celebrated advocates, who might otherwise have lent Lilburne their assistance, had left London to go on circuit. The prisoner was refused a copy of his indictment, and was not allowed publicly to read the Act of the Long Parliament by which he had been banished, and on which his indictment rested. In order to give the jurors an unfavourable impression of his case, his accusers published the reports of the agents who had denounced his connection with the royalists in Holland, and particularly with the Duke of Buckingham. Lilburne strove with exhaustless energy against all these premeditated obstacles. He succeeded in obtaining, before their departure from town, the written opinions of two eminent lawyers, one of whom was the learned Presbyterian, Maynard. He compelled the Court to give him a copy of his indictment, and to promise that the Act ordaining his banishment should be publicly read. He opposed obstinacy by obstinacy, argument by argument. The Attorney-General, Prideaux, who had very irregularly taken his seat among the judges, was very bitter against him. Lilburne immediately called on him to come down from his seat, with that

contemptuous and insulting impetuosity which can disconcert and weaken even the most arrogant and overbearing power. And when the Court proved inflexible, when Lilburne's efforts failed to obtain what he demanded, he exclaimed with passionate and forceful despair, "My lord, rob me not of my birthright, the benefit of the law, which again and again I demand as my right and inheritance. And, my lord, if you will be so audacious and unjust, in the face of this great auditory of people, to deny me, and rob me of all the rules of justice and right, and will forcibly stop my mouth and not suffer me freely to speak for my life, according to law, I will cry out and appeal to the people that hear me this day, how that this Court by violence rob me of my birthright by law, and will not suffer me to speak for my life."

The audience were powerfully affected; Lilburne's relatives and friends, his aged father, a number of brave soldiers, who had formerly been his companions in arms, and a host of apprentices and artizans surrounded him, most of them armed, and all equally irritated and anxious. They distributed in the court and in the streets a multitude of tickets bearing these words:—

> "And what! shall then honest John Lilburne die?
> Threescore thousand will know the reason why."

"On Saturday last," wrote Beverning to John de Witt, "there were at his trial six thousand men at least, who, it is thought, would never have suffered his condemnation to have passed without the loss of

some of their lives."[1] The judges, in spite of their anger, could not conceal their alarm. They were, however, strongly guarded: Cromwell had sent for four regiments; detachments of soldiers scoured the streets from time to time; two companies were stationed round the court-house, and reinforcements were in readiness, if required. The trial, with all its varied incidents, lasted from the 13th of July to the 20th of August, 1653; at the last moment, Lilburne thus addressed the jury:—"The act whereupon I am indicted is a lie and a falsehood; an act that hath no reason in it, no law for it; it was done as Pharaoh did, resolved upon the question that all the male children should be murdered. Since the king's head was cut off, they could not make an act of Parliament. By the same law by which they voted me to death, they might vote any of you honest jurymen. And I charge you to consider, whether, if I die on the Monday, the Parliament on Tuesday may not pass such a sentence against every one of you twelve, and upon your wives and children, and all your relations; and then upon the rest of this city, and then upon the whole county of Middlesex, and then upon Hertfordshire; and so by degrees there be no people to inhabit England but themselves."

Impossible suppositions and exaggerated language pass uncriticised by a crowd, when under the influence of strong emotion; popular sympathy, and respect for the ancient laws of the land prevailed against the earnest efforts of all the civil and military leaders of

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 367, 441.

the revolution. Lilburne was a second time acquitted by the jury. Three days after, by order of the Barebone Parliament, the Council of State sent for the jurors, and ordered them, with threats, to explain their reasons for pronouncing such an acquittal. Seven of them flatly refused to give any answer, saying they were answerable for their verdict only to God and their own consciences. Four gave some reasons for their vote, but justified what they had done, and stood by their colleagues. Against this firmness on the part of obscure citizens, neither Cromwell nor his Parliament ventured any further intimidation; and they were allowed to return quietly home. But Lilburne, though acquitted, was not set at liberty; the Parliament, after having received official reports of the trial and subsequent examination of the jury, directed the Lieutenant of the Tower still to detain the prisoner in custody, "notwithstanding any *Habeas Corpus* granted, or to be granted, by the Court of Upper Bench, or any other Court."[1]

Lilburne, who had fancied himself victorious, sank beneath this rigour. Imprisoned, first in the Tower, and afterwards in the island of Jersey, he consented at length to live peaceably in order to live at liberty; and he died obscurely, four years afterwards, at Eltham, in Kent, leaving to his country an unyielding example of legal resistance, and of a vain appeal to the

[1] Commons Journals, vol. vii. pp. 285, 294, 297, 298, 306, 309, 358; State Trials, vol. v. cols. 407—452; Guizot's Etudes Biographiques sur la Revolution d'Angleterre, pp. 187—192; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 367, 368, 369, 429, 435, 442, 449, 451, 453.

laws. Convinced, by this trial, that the jury would expose his power to defeat, in those very conjunctures in which he would have most need of success, Cromwell resolved to rid himself of its interposition, as he had already got rid of the Long Parliament, but with less noise. He intimated his wishes to the Little Parliament by means of his confidants, and three weeks before its dissolution, that Parliament granted him the restoration of that exceptional and altogether political jurisdiction which had sentenced first the King, then Lord Capell, and afterwards the various royalist conspirators with whom the Commonwealth had had to deal. On the 21st of November, 1653, a High Court of Justice was instituted, composed of thirty-four members, among whom Bradshaw was again conspicuous; for, though he was too sincere a republican to serve Cromwell in his councils, he was too passionate a revolutionary to refuse to judge the enemies of the revolution. And that nothing might be wanting that could add to the safety of the Protector, the Barebone Parliament also ordained that the statute regarding acts of treason should be revised and adapted to the character and requirements of the new government.[1]

These precautions were not superfluous, for, as Whitelocke had predicted to Cromwell, as soon as monarchical power, under the name of a Protectorate, was restored in the person of a single man, all attacks were immediately directed against him: Cavaliers and

[1] Commons Journals, vol. vii. pp. 297, 306, 353, 354; Guizot's Etudes Biographiques, p. 192.

Levellers, Episcopalians and Anabaptists, all renewed their conspiracies, sometimes separately, sometimes in concert with one another. Cromwell treated these different kinds of enemies in very different ways. Towards the mystical and republican sectaries, he continued to act with moderation and almost with kindness; even when he punished them, he contented himself with depriving them of their commissions, or imprisoning them for a short time, and was always ready to restore them to their employments or to liberty, when they manifested the least sign of repentance, or as soon as the danger had passed. Immediately after the proclamation of the Protectorate, he became aware that Colonels Okey, Overton, Alured, and Pride were engaged in intrigues hostile to his authority; he merely separated them from their regiments, recalling them individually from Scotland and Ireland, and detained them in London. When he had to deal with influential but unofficial men belonging to this party, with famous preachers or popular dreamers, he would request them to come and see him, and "would enter with them into the terms of their old equality, shutting the door, and making them sit down covered by him, to let them see how little he valued those distances that, for form sake, he was bound to keep up with others." At these interviews, he opened his heart to his visitors as to old and true friends. "He would rather," he told them, "have taken a shepherd's staff than the protectorship, since nothing was more contrary to his genius than a show of greatness; but he saw it was necessary at

that time to keep the nation from falling into extreme disorder, and from becoming open to the common enemy; and, therefore, he only stepped in between the living and the dead (as he phrased it), in that interval, till God should direct them on what bottom they ought to settle; and he assured them that then he would surrender the heavy load lying upon him, with a joy equal to the sorrow with which he was affected while under that show of dignity."[1] He would then pray with them, powerfully impressing their hearts, and becoming himself often moved even to tears. The most suspicious were disarmed, the most irritated were grateful to him for his confidence, and although he did not succeed in stifling all hostile feeling in the party, he at least prevented it from spreading more widely or finding dangerous expression; and he either held most of these pious enthusiasts bound to his service, or left them embarrassed and incapable of action in spite of their ill-humour.

Towards royalist conspirators, his behaviour was very different; against them were directed all his demonstrations of severity, and when necessary, his acts of rigour, either in order to defend himself effectually against their plots, or to rally around him the timorous or distrustful republicans. Opportunities of this kind were not wanting; conspiracies, both serious and frivolous, real or imaginary, are the most usual weapon and pastime of vanquished or unemployed factions. At the time of Lilburne's arrest, several

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 285—294, 313, 414; Burnet's History of His Own Time, vol. i. p. 125.

Cavaliers were also arrested; during his exile in Holland, he had entered into intimate relations with them, and had boasted that, if 10,000*l.* were placed at his command, he would, within six months, ruin both Cromwell and the Parliament, by means of his pamphlets and friends. It was even stated that, when he returned to England, the Duke of Buckingham had accompanied him as far as Calais. A month after the establishment of the Protectorate, a committee of eleven royalists were surprised in a tavern in the city, plotting a general insurrection of their party and the assassination of Cromwell. He contented himself with sending them to the Tower, and publishing an account of their conspiracy. But ere long was mysteriously circulated a proclamation published, it was said, at Paris, on the 23rd of April, 1654, which ran as follows: "Charles the Second, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, to all our good and loving subjects, peace and prosperity. Whereas a certain mechanic fellow, by name Oliver Cromwell,—after he had most inhumanly and barbarously butchered our dear father, of sacred memory, his just and lawful sovereign,—hath most tyrannically and traitorously usurped the supreme power over our said kingdoms, to the enslaving and ruining the persons and estates of the good people, our free subjects therein: These are, therefore, in our name, to give free leave and liberty to any man whomsoever, within any of our three kingdoms, by pistol, sword, or poison, or by any other way or means whatsoever, to destroy

the life of the said Oliver Cromwell; wherein they will do an act acceptable to God and good men, by cutting so detestable a villain from the face of the earth. And whosoever, whether soldier or other, shall be instrumental in so signal a piece of service, both to God, to his king, and to his country, we do, by these presents, and on the word and faith of a Christian king, promise to give him, and his heirs for ever, five hundred pounds per annum free land, or the full sum in money, and also the honour of knighthood to him and his heirs; and if he shall be a soldier of the army, we do also promise to give him a colonel's place, and such honourable employment wherein he may be capable of attaining to further preferment answerable to his merit."

Nothing can be less probable than that this proclamation really emanated from Charles II., or that, as has been asserted, it was the work of Hyde; it presents indisputable proofs of a subaltern origin, and statesmen, even if they commanded an assassination, would be careful not to proclaim it. But it was circulated and welcomed, under the seal of secrecy, throughout the royalist party; and men were not wanting, even among the higher ranks of the king's adherents, to whom such an assassination would not have been at all repugnant. Cromwell, though naturally neither pusillanimous nor easily annoyed, regarded this proclamation as a very serious matter. "Assassinations," he said, "were such detestable things, that he would never begin them; but if any of the king's party should endeavour to assassinate him,

and fail in it, he would make an assassinating war of it, and destroy the whole family; and he asserted he had instruments to execute it, whensoever he should give order for it."[1]

On the night of the 20th of May, 1654, five royalists, among whom were Colonel John Gerard, a young gentleman of good family, and Peter Vowell, a schoolmaster at Islington, were arrested in their beds, by order of Cromwell, on the charge of having conspired to assassinate the Protector. The plot was to have been carried into execution on the previous evening, as Cromwell rode from Whitehall to Hampton Court, and he had escaped only in consequence of information received a few hours previously, by crossing the Thames at Putney, and thus avoiding the ambuscade. Charles II. was to have been proclaimed immediately in the city, and Prince Rupert had promised to land without delay on the coast of Sussex, with the Duke of York and ten thousand men, English, Irish, and French. More than forty persons, many of them men of importance, were also arrested on the two following days, on the ground of being implicated in the conspiracy. But Cromwell sent only three of them, Gerard, Vowell, and Somerset Fox, before the High Court of Justice which had been erected to try them.[2]

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 306, 441, 442, 453, vol. ii. pp. 95, 105, 114, 151, 248; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 75, 79, 98; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 60, 74; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. pp. 184, 191, 241; Burnet's History of His Own Time, vol. i. p. 121.

[2] Scobell's Collection of Acts and Ordinances, part ii. p. 311.

Somerset Fox pleaded guilty and admitted the fact, whereby he obtained his pardon. Gerard and Vowell denied having entertained any project of assassination. Vowell demanded to be tried by his peers, twelve jurymen, in conformity with the terms of Magna Charta, and with the sixth article of the constitution of the Protectorate. "We are your peers," replied Lord Lisle, the President of the Court, "not your superiors, but your equals. We are present, near twice twelve, as you see; and we are to proceed by the power of the ordinance appointing us." Glynn, one of the Judges, affirmed that this ordinance undoubtedly had the force of law; for, in the old law of treason, the word *King* signified merely the supreme governor of the State, and as it had been so construed in the case of the Queen, it equally extended to a Lord Protector. The trial was, however, conducted with moderation, although the police were the principal witnesses; and one of the chief conspirators, Major Henshaw, was not brought forward to give evidence, probably because he had discovered the plot to the Council. Notwithstanding the denials of the prisoners, the evidence against them, even at the present day, seems incontrovertible. Henshaw and Gerard had evidently been to Paris, where they had communicated their plan to Prince Rupert, who had given them the greatest encouragement, and introduced them to Charles II.; and, on their return to London, they had made every preparation for the execution of their design. Had they informed the King of the extremities to which they intended to proceed, and received

his approbation? Hyde, at this very period, and in his most private correspondence, absolutely denies that they had done so. "I do assure you, upon my credit," he wrote to his friend, Secretary Nicholas, on the 12th of June, 1654, "I do not know, and upon my confidence the king does not, of any such design. Many light foolish persons propose wild things to the king, which he civilly discountenances, and they and their friends brag what they hear or could do; and no doubt, in some such noble rage, that hath now fallen out which they talk so much of at London, and by which many honest men are in prison: of which whole matter the king knows no more than you do." After his condemnation, and even on the scaffold, Gerard persisted in his protestations of innocence. But whatever may have been the amount of his participation in the plan for the assassination of the Protector, and whether Charles was aware of it or not, the fact itself was incontestable, and probably even more serious than Cromwell allowed it to appear; for there is reason to believe that M. de Baas,—at that time an envoy extraordinary of Mazarin to London, and temporarily connected with the embassy of M. de Bordeaux,—was not unacquainted either with the conspirators or with their design. Cromwell was so convinced of this that he summoned M. de Baas before his council, and sharply interrogated him on the subject. But he had too much good sense to magnify the affair beyond what was required by a due regard for his own safety, or by laying too much stress on this incident, to interrupt, for any length of time, his

friendly relations with Mazarin and the Court of France, which manifested the greatest anxiety to remain on good terms with him. He merely sent M. de Baas back to France, openly stating to Louis XIV. and Mazarin, his reasons for so doing, and showing in this the same moderation which had induced him to bring to trial only three of the conspirators. He had escaped the danger, made known to England and Europe the active vigilance of his police, and proved to the royalists that he would not spare them. He attempted nothing further. He possessed that difficult secret of the art of governing which consists in a just appreciation of what will be sufficient in any given circumstance, and in resting satisfied with it.[1]

He was careful also not to affect a servile adherence to his own policy; but he borrowed from his enemies anything which he thought useful or likely to serve his purpose. He had dismissed the Barebone Parliament in order to preserve the fabric of society in England from anarchical and chimerical reformers; and the establishment of the Protectorate, which vested "the supreme legislative authority of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in one person, and the people in Parliament assembled,"[2] had been the first step in the monarchical reaction which had now

[1] State Trials, vol. v. cols. 517—540; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 309, 321, 330—334, 338, 350—357, 382—384, 412, 437, 510—514, 523; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 28—30; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 247; Harleian Miscellany, vol. x. pp. 210—251; Heath's Chronicle, pp. 663, 667; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 75—79; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. pp. 243—245. See Appendix II.

[2] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 248.

commenced. This reaction was warmly promoted by Cromwell. The act of government conferred upon him alone, or assisted by a Council of State dependent upon him, nearly all the attributes of royalty.[1] He hastened to make use of this power. Immediately after his installation, he issued new patents under his own hand to the judges and great officers of state.[2] All public acts, whether administrative or judicial, were passed in his name. He formally appointed his Council of State, and subjected it, in its deliberations, to most of the rules which had been laid down for the guidance of the Parliament.[3] On the 8th of February, 1654, he was entertained at a pompous banquet by the City of London, at the termination of which he conferred the honour of knighthood on the Lord Mayor, and presented him with his own sword, just as a king would have done at his accession to the throne.[4] He left the Cockpit, where he had until then resided, and took up his abode in the royal apartments of Whitehall, which were magnificently fitted up and furnished for his reception.[5] His residence assumed the state and splendour of a court; and the quarterly expenditure of his household amounted, in 1655, to thirty-five thousand pounds.[6]

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. pp. 249—262.

[2] Ibid., vol. xx. p. 274; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. p. 23.

[3] Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 29—32; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. pp. 229, 230.

[4] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 27; Cromwelliana, p. 134.

[5] Cromwelliana, pp. 132, 139; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. p. 10.

[6] Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. p. 248.

In his communications with foreign ambassadors, he introduced the rules and etiquette of the great continental monarchies; the three ambassadors of Holland, Beverning, Nieuport, and Jongestall, who had come to London to treat of peace, thus describe, in a letter to the States-General, the audience which he granted them on the 4th of March, 1654: "We were fetched in his Highness's coach, accompanied with the Lords Strickland and Jones, with the Master of the Ceremonies, and brought into the great banqueting-room at Whitehall, where his Highness had never given audience before. He stood upon a pedestal, raised with three steps high from the floor, being attended by the Lords President Laurence, Viscount Lisle, Skippon, Mackworth, Pickering, Montague, and Mr. Secretary Thurloe, together with the Lord Claypole, his Master of the Horse. After three reverences made at entrance, in the middle, and before the steps, which his Highness answered every time with reciprocal reverences, we came up to the steps, and delivered to him, with a compliment of induction, our letters of credence. He did receive them without opening them; the reason whereof we suppose to be our delivering of the copies and translations thereof in the morning to Mr. Thurloe; so that we presently began our discourse with a compliment of thanks for his good inclination shown in the treaty of our common peace, of congratulation in this new dignity, of presentation in all reciprocal and neighbourly offices on the behalf of your High and Mighty Lordships, and wishing all safety and prosperity to his person and

government. To which he answered with many serious and significant expressions of reciprocal inclination to your High and Mighty Lordships, and to the business of peace; for which we once more returned him thanks, and presented unto his Highness twenty of our gentlemen, who went in before us, being followed by twenty more, to have the honour to kiss his hand; but instead thereof, his Highness advanced near the steps, and bowed to all the gentlemen one by one, and put out his hand to them at a distance, by way of congratulation. Whereupon we were conducted back again after the same manner."[1] The audience could hardly have been conducted otherwise if Cromwell had been king.[2]

It was not surprising, therefore, that reports were everywhere current that he was about to assume that title, nay, that he had already assumed it, and that he had been crowned in secret. Even the composition of his royal household was announced; Lambert was to be Commander-in-chief and a duke, St. John Lord Treasurer, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper Lord Chancellor, and Lord Say Lord High Chamberlain. The House of Peers was to be restored; all the peers were about to repair immediately to London, and submit to the new government. Plays, players, and public festivals were soon to make their appearance again, and all was to go on once more merrily and brilliantly, as in the old times. It was even stated that

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 154; Cromwelliana, p. 136.

[2] Letters from Bordeaux to Brienne, January 1—5, 1654. See Appendix III.

the Prince of Condé had proposed to the Protector a matrimonial alliance between their two families.[1]

Such rumours, we may be sure, were not unpleasing to Cromwell; but he had no intention of allowing himself to be led astray by their seductive influence; he had reached that happy period of combined ardour and prudence when the genius and fortune of great men, still in the full vigour of youth, manifest themselves without inebriety or excess. At the same time that he once more erected, under a modest name, the throne on which he wished to take his seat, he felt it necessary to give to the men of the popular party, to which he had until now belonged, such satisfactory reasons as might determine them to follow him in so complete a change of policy; and as he had just quarrelled with the ultra-reformers, it devolved upon him to effect those reforms which were really demanded by public opinion and sanctioned by good sense. He accomplished with rapidity and moderation, many of those measures which the Long Parliament and the Barebone Parliament had so wordily and uselessly discussed. The administration of the finances, the repair and conservation of the public highways, the condition of prisoners for debt, and the internal economy of prisons, the police of the city of London and the regulation of public amusements, such as horse-races and cock-fights, all formed the subject of legislative acts, framed with a view to promote good order and general civilisation. Duels were prohibited, and precautions marked by no excess

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 645, vol. ii. pp. 2—8; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. p. 231.

of rigour were taken for their prevention. An elaborate ordinance, prepared with the utmost care, limited the jurisdiction and modified the procedure of the Court of Chancery. Cromwell intrusted its preparation to those very lawyers, who, in the Barebone Parliament, had strenuously opposed the abolition of that Court. "I am resolved," he told them, "to give the learned of the robe the honour of reforming their own profession, and I hope that God will give them hearts to do it."[1] A central committee, composed of thirty-eight persons, nine laymen, and twenty-nine clergymen, was appointed to examine all preachers who aspired to hold a church living, and no one could be inducted without having received their approval. In every county, moreover, a special committee was nominated to make inquiry into the character and conduct of all ministers of the Gospel and schoolmasters within their county, and to eject such as should appear "scandalous, ignorant, or insufficient." Preaching and Christian instruction, as well as the wise administration of parochial matters, were effectually encouraged. Commissioners, nearly all of them men of learning and influence, were directed to visit the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the great classical schools of Eton and Winchester, in order to reform abuses and to introduce necessary improvements. In less than nine months, from the 24th of December, 1653, to the 2nd of September, 1654, eighty-two ordinances, bearing upon almost every part of the social organisation of the country, bore witness

[1] Whitelocke's Journal of the Swedish Embassy, vol. ii. p. 133.

to the intelligent activity, and to the character, at once conservative and reformatory, of the Government.[1]

At the same time, Cromwell completed another work, which the Long Parliament and the Barebone Parliament had both undertaken and left unfinished. Under favour of the discussions which had arisen between the great powers of the Commonwealth, the Scottish royalists had once more conceived hopes, and taken up arms; while Ireland, and even the republican army in Ireland, was not at all in a satisfactory condition. When the news of the establishment of the Protectorate arrived in Dublin, in January, 1654, the new system of government was adopted by the Council of Government, although presided over by Cromwell's son-in-law, General Fleetwood, by a majority of only one vote; and one of its principal members, Ludlow, instantly resigned all civil functions, but retained his military command, of which no one could tell what use he intended to make. In Scotland, the insurrection, though chiefly confined to the Highlands, descended occasionally to ravage the plains; and towards the beginning of February, 1654, Middleton had been sent from France, by Charles II., to attempt to give, in the king's name, that unity and consistency of action in which it had until then been deficient. No sooner had he been proclaimed Protector, than Cromwell took decisive measures to crush these dangers in their infancy: he despatched to

[1] Scobell's Collection of Acts and Ordinances, part. ii. pp. 275—368; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 8—10.

Ireland his second son, Henry, an intelligent, circumspect, and resolute young man, and to Scotland, Monk, whom that country had already once recognized as her conqueror. Both succeeded in their mission; Henry Cromwell, at Dublin, encouraged the friends of the Protector, won the uncertain, intimidated the factious, embarrassed even Ludlow himself by his firm but courteous conversation, and returned to London after an absence of three weeks, leaving his brother-in-law, Fleetwood, in peaceful possession of power. Monk, with his usual prompt and intrepid boldness, carried the war into the very heart of the Highlands, established his quarters there, pursued the insurgents into their most inaccessible retreats, defeated Middleton and compelled him to re-embark for the Continent, and, after a campaign of four months, returned to Edinburgh at the end of August, 1654, and began once more, without passion or noise, to govern the country which he had twice subjugated. Cromwell had reckoned beforehand on his success, for, on the 12th of April, 1654, at the very period when he ordered Monk to march against the Scottish insurgents, he had, by a sovereign ordinance, incorporated Scotland with England, abolished all monarchical or feudal jurisdiction in the ancient realm of the Stuarts, and determined the place which its representatives, as well as those of Ireland, should occupy in the common Parliament of the new State.[1] Thus was the

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 149, 162, 193; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 207, 208; Guizot's Etudes Biographiques sur la Revolution d'Angleterre, pp. 66—68; Guizot's Monk, pp. 48—52; Whitelocke's

internal unity of the British Commonwealth accomplished and organized, under the authority of its Protector.

The foreign affairs of the country, at the moment when Cromwell took possession of the supreme power, were, though not in danger, in a state of painful and barren confusion. The war with Holland still continued, and at the same time, negotiations had been opened for the restoration of peace; ambassadors were constantly passing between the Hague and London, endeavouring to obtain an accommodation, while the fleets were cruizing in search of one another, in order to come to an engagement. On the 29th of July, 1653, Monk, who acted as commander-in-chief during the absence of Blake, whom ill-health had compelled to go on shore for repose, issued orders to his captains that "no English ship should surrender to the enemy, and that they should accept no surrender of the vessels against which they fought. Their business, he said, was not to take ships, but to sink and destroy to the utmost extent of their power."[1] The event of the battle, fought with this redoubled animosity was still uncertain when, on the 31st of July, Tromp, who had dashed into the very midst of the English fleet, was struck to death with a ball. "It is all over with me, but keep up your courage," were his last and only

Memorials, pp. 581—583, 587—589, 592, 597—599; Scobell's Acts and Ordinances, part ii. pp. 288—298; Cromwelliana, pp. 134, 136, 138; Burnet's History of His Own Time, vol. i. pp. 107, 108; Laing's History of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 482—485; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 62—68.

[1] Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 59—64.

words. Neither his lieutenants, Ruyter, Cornelius de Witt, Floritz, and Evertz, nor the States-General, his masters, lost their courage, but their hopes declined as they found the resources of their country exhausted, and as the designs of their enemy became apparent in the conflict.[1] By a singular coincidence, on the very day on which Monk and Tromp encountered each other, not far from the mouth of the Meuse, Beverning wrote from London to John de Witt: "Your lordship hath seen by my foregoing letters that I always made but little account of our agreeing with this nation. . . . The veil is now at length taken off by the last answer of the Council, where they durst propound that the two commonwealths should coalesce and become united, and that the whole thus united should be subject to one supreme government, composed of persons belonging to each nation. . . Whereupon we delivered in a further memorandum, with a desire, by reason of the opportunity, to take our leaves of the Council; but after two days waiting, we are not yet despatched. . . . I doubt not but that the exorbitant proceedings, and extravagant propositions of these men, will open the eyes of all the princes of Europe, and cause them to look to their ambitious and execrable designs."[2] Three of the Dutch ambassadors, Nieuport, Van de Perre, and Jongestall, did in fact return to the Hague, but Beverning remained in London. Neither side was desirous to break off all negociations; Cromwell used all his efforts to prevent such

[1] Leclerc's Histoire des Provinces Unies, vol. ii. p. 334.

[2] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 382.

an extremity. Beverning had several conferences with him, which led him to hope there was some possibility of an accomodation. "Last Saturday," he wrote, on the 22nd of August, 1653, "I had a discourse with His Excellency Cromwell for above two hours, being without anybody present with us. His Excellency spoke his own language so distinctly that I could understand him. I answered him in Latin. I urged much upon some particulars which His Excellency did confess to be of very great consideration, and took them into his thoughts to reflect upon;"[1] and three weeks later, on the 19th of September, he wrote, "I find now at present somewhat more moderation; and I hope they will be contented with a good and strict alliance."[2] But the Barebone Parliament was still in existence; the arrogant pretensions of the fanatics revelled in unrestrained liberty; authority was scattered, and unreason let loose; no one dared to decide and conclude any matter of public import. War and negociations continued simultaneously between London and the Hague, without leading to any result.

The same uncertainty and feebleness were manifested in the relations of the Commonwealth with the other States of Europe. Cromwell obtained the appointment of Whitelocke as ambassador to the Queen of Sweden, whose good will he hoped might be converted into a strong and lasting alliance. Whitelocke hesitated about accepting this distant mission, which seemed to him a mark of distrust rather

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 417, 418. [2] Ibid., vol. i. p. 463.

than a token of favour. His wife besought him with tears to refuse, on the ground of their happiness, and of their twelve children, conjuring him to remember the fate of Dorislaus and Ascham. Cromwell, however, insisted. "This business," he said, "is of exceeding great importance to the Commonwealth; and there is no prince or State in Christendom with whom there is any probability for us to have a friendship, but only the Queen of Sweden. . . . If you should decline this mission the Protestant interest would suffer by it . . . Your going may be the most likely means to settle our business with the Dutch and Danes, and all matters of trade. . . . I will engage to take particular care of your affairs myself; and you shall neither want supplies, nor anything that is fit for you. I shall hold myself particularly obliged to you if you will undertake it; and I will stick to you as close as your skin to your flesh."[1] Whitelocke consented; but when his consent had once been given, he did not meet, either in the Parliament or in the Council of State, with the good treatment which he had been led to expect. Doubts were raised as to his piety; he was not allowed all that he considered necessary for the accomplishment of his embassy: he demanded a salary of fifteen hundred pounds a month, but only a thousand was granted; he requested a retinue of a hundred persons, and the number was reduced to seventy. Delayed

[1] Whitelocke's Journal of the Swedish Embassy, vol. i. pp. 1, 9, 13, 16—22, 31—36, 41, 46, 93.

by these difficulties and disappointments, he did not set out until three months after his nomination.

Affairs, even when decided, were transacted with similar slowness and reluctance. Sometimes even the simplest matters were left undone altogether. The ambassador of Portugal, the Count de Sa, had been in London for more than eighteen months; in order to put an end to the differences between the two States, he had consented to all the conditions and indemnities demanded by the Parliament,—"conditions of such a character," wrote Bordeaux to M. Servien, "that it would be always very easy to terminate affairs at that rate."[1] And yet the treaty with Portugal was not concluded. The project of alliance which Don Alonzo de Cardeñas, in the name of the King of Spain, had submitted to the Long Parliament, on the 12th of September, 1652, also remained in suspense, as though it had been forgotten and void of meaning. The minister of France, notwithstanding the obstinate refusal given to his demand for the restitution of the vessels which Blake had captured off Calais, seemed to have made greater progress with his negociation: some desire had been intimated to him that an ambassador should be sent into France; the Commissioners appointed to treat with him had given him to understand that "if His Majesty had any intention to form an alliance with their State, the interests of the merchants should not stand in the way of it," and had said to him in a contemptuous manner, "What! shall we waste our

[1] Bordeaux to M. Servien, Jan. 27, 1653, in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

time upon merchants?" "This, however," he adds, "is not the turning-point of the affair."[1] The Long Parliament felt that it was in imminent danger, and sought friends on every side: at the period of its expulsion, Bordeaux believed that he was on the point of concluding a treaty with it. He resumed his labours, with renewed hopes, on the accession of the new authorities to power. Mazarin, ever lavish of flattering advances, wrote to Cromwell to propose a reciprocation of useful friendship. Cromwell replied to him with a rare excess of affected humility. "It's surprise to me that your Eminency should take notice of a person so inconsiderable as myself, living, as it were, separate from the world. This honour has made, as it ought, a very deep impression upon me, and does oblige me to serve your Eminency upon all occasions, so as I shall be happy to find out; so I trust that very honourable person, Monsieur Burdoe (Bordeaux), will therein be helpful to your Eminency's thrice humble servant, Oliver Cromwell."[2] But these demonstrations of good-will led to no result: France, her king, and her cardinal, were regarded by the republicans and anabaptists of the Barebone Parliament with a distrustful antipathy which Cromwell was as yet unwilling to brave. "You have possibly not yet been informed of all the rebuffs which your envoy has received in London," wrote M. de Gentillot to M. de Brienne; "his Eminence has stated

[1] Bordeaux to Brienne, April 10, 1653: in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

[2] Cromwell to Mazarin, June 9, 1653; in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France. See Appendix IV.

publicly that General Cromwell caused him to be treated with all kinds of civility, and that everything was in a good train. A different opinion prevails here; and it is thought that he has treated your envoy very roughly, never having been willing to grant him any private audience, nor receive any particular compliment. I say this in order to lead you to persuade yourself of the bad feeling of this government, that you may take your own precautions against them."[1] Bordeaux ere long received the same impression, and transmitted it to Paris: "The General," he wrote to M. de Brienne, "does not appear to me very warm towards France: the first answer which he gave me when I told him that the king was strongly inclined to an accommodation between the two nations, was, that a just war was better than an unjust peace—*justum bellum præstabat iniquâ pace.*"[2] Two months later, this coolness and reserve had greatly increased. "For some time," wrote Bordeaux, "Mr. Cromwell has informed me, by means of the Master of the Ceremonies, that he wished me no longer to address myself to him about matters of business, although I have hitherto done so only twice; and as he has even avoided me on several occasions, I have been unable to converse with him, and I have been obliged, by means of third persons, to insinuate the reasons which should oblige England to seek the friendship of

[1] Gentillot to Brienne, July 30, 1653; in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

[2] Bordeaux to Brienne, August 7, 1653; in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

France, since his Majesty is acting with sincerity, and is willing to concede all that propriety will permit, in order to assure them of it."[1] In presence of a fanatical and narrow-minded Parliament, and in the midst of the tottering Commonwealth, torn by the conflicts of opposing parties and popular prejudices, no decided and consistent policy could be adopted; and no one, not even Cromwell, felt himself strong enough boldly to undertake the responsibility of any great act, or the prosecution of any great enterprise.[2]

Affairs changed their aspect when Cromwell became Protector. In regard to foreign policy, his government was guided by two fixed ideas—peace with the United Provinces, and an alliance of the Protestant States: these were, in his eyes, the two vital conditions of the safety and power of his country in Europe, as well as of his own safety and power in his own country and in Europe. He applied himself without delay to the realization of these projects.

Peace with the United Provinces was, to him, a matter of some difficulty. He had openly approved and supported the ambitious plan for the incorporation of the two republics; and not only did the dreamy fanatics refuse to abandon this project, but many of the leaders of the army, and those remarkable for good sense, Monk among others, had imbibed during the war such a strong feeling of hatred and contempt for the Dutch, that they could not endure the thought

[1] Bordeaux to Brienne, October 23, 1653; in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

[2] See Appendix V.

of any concession to those rivals whom they had already conquered, and whom they hoped ere long to crush. From Protestant sympathy, for the interest of commerce, and from weariness of taxation, the English nation desired peace; but the revolutionary and military party were in general opposed to it; they accused Cromwell of desiring it only on his own account, and for the sole purpose of consolidating his power. He was not unaware of this opposition, and he took care not to irritate it either by his language or by the terms of the negociation, but he neither hesitated nor swerved in the slightest degree from his design. Though he showed himself haughty and exacting in his dealings with the envoys of the States-General, he was in private communication with Beverning and Nieuport, who belonged to the province of Holland, and who, like himself, were decidedly in favour of peace. He abandoned the idea of the incorporation of the two States, and certain other stipulations which would have been too offensive or too burdensome to the Dutch; he admitted their allies, and among others, the King of Denmark, to participate in the advantages of the treaty; and on these terms, he secured to England not only a close alliance with the United Provinces, but most indisputable pledges of her maritime preponderance and commercial prosperity. On one point alone, on a revolutionary interest which narrowly affected his own personal safety, he was inexorable; after having imposed on the United Provinces an obligation never to receive into their territories any enemy of the Commonwealth,

and thus deprived the Stuarts of that asylum, he demanded that they should further promise never to make the young Prince of Orange, or his descendants, either Stadtholder, or commander of their forces by land or sea, or governor of any of their fortified towns. He was anxious to remove from all participation in power, both at the Hague and in London, all princes sprung from the House of Stuart, and attached to its cause. Such a stipulation evidently was destructive of the sovereignty and dignity of the Confederation; the partizans of the House of Orange, who were numerous and popular, indignantly protested against it. The States-General refused to allow this clause, and the treaty was on the point of being broken off. For direct and public negociation, Cromwell now substituted secret intrigue; he told Beverning and Nieuport that he would be satisfied with a private engagement to this effect on the part of the province of Holland, which he considered sufficiently powerful alone to decide such a question. This was a strong temptation to the interest and passions of the Pensionary of Holland, John de Witt, and his friends, who governed that province: Cromwell merely demanded of them to exclude for ever from the government of their country the prince and party whom they had recently overthrown. Were the efforts which they made to repulse this pretension perfectly sincere and real? All the documents relating to the negociation, both public and confidential, seem to attest that they were. However this may be, Cromwell's demand became known; most of the United Provinces

and some even of the towns of Holland protested against acceding to it; but Cromwell peremptorily insisted, offering no alternative but the adoption of his terms or the continuation of the war. After great agitation, the States of Holland, by fourteen votes against five, determined to give the pledge which Cromwell required; but they sent orders to their envoys in London to make a fresh effort, before affixing their signatures to the treaty, to induce him to omit, or at least to modify, this clause in the accommodation. The public treaty had been signed on the 5th of April, 1654, but the negociations were continued for two months after; Cromwell refused to hear of any modification, and it was not until the 5th of June that, the secret article having at length been ratified, the treaty of peace was solemnly proclaimed, amid the loudest and most enthusiastic demonstrations of popular satisfaction. The king of Denmark, the Swiss Protestant cantons, the Hanseatic towns, and several of the petty Protestant princes of the north of Germany were included in the treaty.[1]

In the meantime, Whitelocke was in Sweden, negociating the second of those treaties which were to place England at the head of Protestant Europe. Se-

[1] Guizot's Monk, p. 46; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. p. 251; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 517, 519, 529, 530, 566, 570, 607, 612, 614, 621, 624, 643, vol. ii. pp. 16, 20, 28—30, 35, 37, 46—106, 211, 227, 245, 251, 257; Leclerc's Histoire des Provinces Unies, vol. ii. pp. 391, 410, 432—450; Dumont's Corps Diplomatiqu e Universel, vol. vi. part ii. treaty 17; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 45—52; Bordeaux to Brienne, August 11—14, September 22, 1653, and Bordeaux to Servien, December 6, 1653, in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

rious obstacles, of an unforeseen character, threatened to prevent the success of his mission. Neither Queen Christina nor her subjects shared in the religious passions which inspired the policy of which he was the organ. Though firm and sincere Protestants, the Swedes were cold both in creed and practice. Whitelocke, who was far from being a strict Puritan, was astonished at the laxity of their morals, at their want of earnestness in worship, and at their almost entire neglect of religious rest on the Sabbath day. At their very first conversation (which took place on the 20th of December, 1653), the Queen spoke to him slightingly of the Puritan enthusiasm of his country. "I pray," she asked him, "what religion do you profess in England? The world reports a great number of different religions in England, some Lutherans, some Calvinists, some called Independents, some Anabaptists, and some yet higher, and different from all the rest, whose names we know not."[1] When they began to speak of political alliances, the Queen expressed herself in favour of the union of Sweden and England with Spain. "Probably some," said Whitelocke, "may object the difference in religion." "That will be no hindrance to the force of the union," answered the Queen: "the Dutch and Danes being Protestants, unite with the French, though Papists. You English are hypocrites and dissemblers." Whitelocke expostulated. "I do not mean either your General or yourself," added the Queen, "but I think that in England there are many who make profession

[1] Whitelocke's Journal, vol. i. pp. 275, 276.

of more holiness than is in them, hoping for advantage by it."[1] Cromwell's ambassador often had to encounter very hostile prejudices and feelings, on the part of the Swedish populace; the mob came at night to assail his servants with insults for having killed their king, and derisively termed the Parliament "a company of tailors and cobblers." Whitelocke more than once had to take precautions against public insult, and plots were even formed for his assassination.[2] When he entered into conference with old Chancellor Oxenstiern—"the wisest statesman of the Continent," as Cromwell called him—he had to deal with serious objections, many of which he found it difficult to refute. "I desire to know," said Oxenstiern, "what stability and settlement there is in your Commonwealth and government, and how it came to pass that the late Parliament, which they called by the late king's authority, was dissolved, and another constituted, which, some report, may probably be as soon dissolved as the other was; and then how shall our treaty have a good and fixed foundation? Do you hold kingly government to be unlawful, that you have abolished it?" Whitelocke defended and explained, to the best of his ability, occurrences which he did not himself approve; but he succeeded poorly in convincing the Chancellor, who was reserved and cautious from disposition as well as from prudence, and who protracted the negociation with a view to watch the course of events between England and the United Provinces, and to learn

[1] December 30, 1653; Whitelocke's Journal, vol. i. pp. 275, 297.
[2] Ibid., vol. i. pp. 205, 215, 451, 504.

whether they would make war or peace. Whitelocke's anxiety increased when he discovered that Oxenstiern had, in his inmost soul, "a little envy towards the Protector, because he had done greater things than the Chancellor had done, and had advanced himself to that estate which the Chancellor had proposed to himself to have done when the Queen was young, but could not arrive at it."[1] He communicated to the Queen the objections which Oxenstiern had raised, and the fears with which he had inspired him; she expressed her entire approval of his answers, and told him "that in case her Chancellor and he could not agree, it must come to her at last, and he should find her to be guided by honour and reason." But at the very moment when Christina gave Whitelocke this assurance, she drew her chair close to him, and said: "I shall surprise you with something which I intend to communicate to you, but it must be under secresy." "Madam," returned Whitelocke, "we that have been versed in the affairs of England, do not use to be surprised with the discourse of a young lady; whatsoever your Majesty shall think fit to impart to me, and command to be under secresy, shall be faithfully obeyed by me." "I have great confidence of your honour and judgment," replied the Queen, "and therefore, though you are a stranger, I shall acquaint you with a business of the greatest consequence to me in the world, and which I have not communicated to any creature. Sir, it is this: I have it in my thoughts and resolution to quit the crown of Sweden, and to

[1] January 12, 1654; Whitelocke's Journal, vol. i. pp. 319—323, 375.

retire into private life, as much more suitable to my contentment than the great cares and troubles attending upon the government of my kingdom. What think you of this resolution?"[1]

Nothing could have been more unwelcome to Whitelocke than this communication, for it was upon Queen Christina herself that all his hopes rested. Cromwell had told him that it would be so when he left England, and since his arrival in Sweden, everything had tended to confirm the Protector's opinion. His mission would be a ridiculous failure if he had come merely to receive the confidence, and witness the abdication, of the princess who could alone grant him success. He made earnest but useless efforts to divert her from her purpose, and withdrew in great perturbation of mind from the interview which had gained him the honour of hearing so great a secret.

Whitelocke did not reckon sufficiently on the influence which the wonderful genius and fortune of a great man could not fail to exercise over the imagination of a woman, who was herself remarkable for intellect and eccentricity, and who made it her delight and boast to act according to the dictates of her fancy, rather than in obedience to the rules of reason, and of her high position. At the very first private audience which she granted him, she said to him: "Your General is one of the gallantest men in the world; never were such things done as by the English in your late war. Your General hath done the greatest things of any man in the world; the Prince of Condé is next to him, but

[1] January 21, 1654; Whitelocke's Journal, vol. i. pp. 360, 361.

short of him. I have as great a respect and honour for your General, as for any man alive, and I pray, let him know as much from me."[1] A few days after this, she made particular inquiries of Whitelocke respecting Cromwell's family, his wife and children. "Much of your General's history," she said, "hath some parallel with that of my ancestor, Gustavus I., who, from a private gentleman of a noble family, was advanced to the title of Marshal of Sweden, because he had risen up and rescued his country from the bondage and oppression which the King of Denmark had put upon them; and, for his reward, he was at last elected King of Sweden. I believe that your General will be King of England, in conclusion." "Pardon me, madam," said Whitelocke, "that cannot be, because England is resolved into a Commonwealth; and my General hath already sufficient power and greatness, as general of all our forces both by sea and land, which may content him." "Resolve what you will," answered Christina, "I believe he resolves to be king."[2] She received the news of the establishment of the Protectorate before Whitelocke; and as soon as she saw him, she inquired: "Have you yet received your letters?" "Not yet, madam," said the ambassador, "but I have reason to believe the news, and to expect your Majesty's inclinations thereupon." "Pardieu," replied the Queen, "I bear the same respect, and more, to your General and to you than I did before; and I had rather have to do with one than

[1] Whitelocke's Journal, vol. i. p. 251. [2] Ibid., vol. i. pp. 295, 296.

with many."[1] Christina's imagination had been strongly impressed, not by Cromwell alone, but by the entire English revolution; she took delight in judging it, and speaking of it, with the independence of a philosopher; she frequently expressed to Whitelocke great admiration for Milton, extolling the force of his reasoning, as well as the beauty of his language. One day, at a ball, she invited Whitelocke to dance with her; he begged earnestly to be excused, as he was rather lame. "I am fearful, Madam," he said, "that I shall dishonour your Majesty, as well as shame myself, by dancing with you." "I will try whether you can dance," said the Queen. "I assure your Majesty," urged Whitelocke, "I cannot in any measure be worthy to have you by the hand." "I esteem you worthy," said Christina, "and therefore make choice of you to dance with me." "I shall not so much undervalue your Majesty's judgment," answered Whitelocke, "as not to obey you herein, and I wish I could remember as much of this as when I was a young man." When they had done dancing, and as he was leading the Queen back to her seat, "Pardieu," she said, "these Hollanders are lying fellows." "I wonder," said Whitelocke, "how the Hollanders should come into your mind upon such an occasion as this!" "I will tell you," said the Queen; "the Hollanders reported to me a great while since that all the noblesse of England were of the king's party, and none but mechanics of the Parliament party, and not a gentle-

[1] Whitelocke's Journal, vol. i. p. 324.

man among them; now I thought to try you, and to shame you if you could not dance; but I see that you are a gentleman, and have been bred a gentleman; and that makes me say the Hollanders are lying fellows."[1]

The personal feelings of the Queen overcame the hesitation of her Chancellor: after having skilfully imposed upon Whitelocke certain concessions which she thought would be useful or complimentary to her people, she indulged her self-love, by exhibiting her power, before she descended from the throne, in an act which would tend to the advantage of the great man whom she admired. On the 28th of April, 1654, Whitelocke and Oxenstiern signed between England and Sweden, a treaty of friendship and alliance, in which the essential articles of Cromwell's propositions were embodied. A month after, on the 5th of May, Christina solemnly abdicated her throne, in presence of the assembled Diet at Upsal; and on the following day, Whitelocke embarked at Stockholm on his return to England, where he arrived on the 30th of June, having achieved a success of the utmost importance to Cromwell's policy, and bearing messages which could not fail to flatter his pride.[2]

A special treaty with the King of Denmark,[3] which secured to English commerce, in regard to passage

[1] Whitelocke's Journal, vol. ii. p. 155.

[2] Whitelocke's Journal, vol. i. pp. 262, 265, 299, 301, 311—314, 319—323, 381—384, 395, 418, 423, 429—431, 461, 486—489, 492, 493—499, 519, 524; vol. ii. pp. 9, 23, 26, 57—60, 61, 64, 109—113, 386, 401, 412.

[3] This treaty was not finally signed until the 14th of September, 1654; see Dumont's Corps Diplomatique Universel, vol. v. part ii. pp. 80, 92.

through the Sound, advantages which until then the Dutch had alone enjoyed, and the establishment of a permanent embassy in the Swiss Cantons for the maintenance of constant influence in that quarter,[1] completed the work of Cromwell's Protestant policy. In that respect, his object was attained; he had entered into intimate relations with all the Protestant States of Europe, by skilfully combining interests with creeds, and securing the weak as his clients and the powerful as his allies.

It was said in France that he meditated still vaster and more difficult designs, for the promotion of Protestantism. "The Protector purposes," wrote one of his emissaries to Cardinal Mazarin, "to assemble a council of all the Protestant communions, in order to unite them in one body by the common confession of one faith."[2] Some particular facts indicate that this idea had really entered his mind. He was one of those powerful and fertile geniuses in whom great designs and great temptations are constantly originating; but he unhesitatingly applied the test of his strong good sense to his most alluring dreams, and never attempted to realize those which did not resist the trial.

Towards the Catholic powers he assumed an attitude of complete and fearless liberty, unmarked by prejudice or ill will, but equally void of courtship or

[1] See Vaughan's Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, illustrated in a series of letters between Dr. John Pell, Resident Ambassador with the Swiss Cantons, and Sir Samuel Morland, &c.

[2] In Appendix VI. will be found a curious Avis à Mgr. le Cardinal sur le dessein du Protecteur d'Angleterre de réunir en une toutes les communions Protestantes, avec le moyen de le prévenir et de l'en empêcher.

flattery, showing himself disposed to maintain peace, but always leaving open the prospect of war, and watching over the interests of his country and of his own family with stern and uncompromising haughtiness. He put an end, at length, to the negociation which had been so long pending with the King of Portugal, and signed, with the Count de Sa, a treaty by which England obtained important advantages for her trade. Cromwell was not sorry, moreover, to impress the court of Spain with his power, by living on good terms with a sovereign who had but recently liberated himself from her dominion, and who was treated by her as an usurper. But, at the same moment, a tragical incident afforded him an opportunity of giving striking satisfaction, at the expense of Portugal, to the republican pride of England, and to the instinctive aversion of the people for foreigners. A brother of the Portuguese ambassador, Don Pantaleon de Sa, had brutally engaged in a street-quarrel, near the New Exchange, in the very heart of the City; and, having returned to the spot, on the following day, with about fifty officers and servants, attached to the embassy, all armed to the teeth, they caused a great tumult, in which one bystander was killed, and several others severely wounded. The outrage was public, the murder flagrant, and the popular exasperation ardent in the extreme; the rank of the principal offender only aggravated the offence. Cromwell resolved that justice should be done. Neither the earnest entreaties of the ambassador, nor his vehement assertion

of diplomatic privileges, could shake the resolution of the Protector. Don Pantaleon de Sa was arrested, tried, condemned, and beheaded, on the 10th of July, at the Tower of London, in presence of a vast multitude, whose fierce pride revelled in such a spectacle. On that very day, a few hours before the execution of his brother, the Count de Sa had signed the treaty which he had come to negociate, and had left London to escape from witnessing a punishment which he had been unable to avert.[1]

In presence of such successes, and of such acts, convincing proofs of formidable power and indomitable energy, the two great rival Catholic powers, France and Spain, paid their court to Cromwell with jealous anxiety, aiming to secure his friendship, and, if possible, to deprive each other of it. As soon as he was proclaimed Protector, Don Alonzo de Cardeñas, in a private interview, offered him the support of Spain for the establishment of his power, promising that the king, his master, would undertake to repulse the pretensions of Charles Stuart, and would not lay down his arms until the Court of France had also been compelled to acknowledge the government of Cromwell. In return for this assistance, Cardeñas demanded that the Protector should ally himself with Spain against France, and should supply the Court of Madrid with an army and a fleet, the expenses of

[1] State Trials, vol. v. cols. 461—518; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 610, 616, vol. ii. pp. 222, 427—429, 447, 473, 517; Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 569, 595; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 30—33.

which should be borne in common, so long as the war lasted.[1] Some months after, Cardeñas further offered to Cromwell a considerable sum of money, as much, even, as six hundred thousand crowns a-year, "without having, either in London or in Flanders," wrote Mazarin to Bordeaux, "the first sou wherewith to pay him, if he took them at their word; they would promise him with the same readiness a million or two, to gain him to their side, since it will certainly not cost them more to keep and perform one promise than the other."[2]

The offers of Mazarin were more positive, and he better understood how to back them by the indirect artifices of vigilant diplomacy. On the 21st of February, 1654, on sending M. de Baas to London, he induced Louis XIV. to write to the Protector a letter full of flattering and almost friendly expressions.[3] Bordeaux was raised to the rank of an ambassador, and received orders to maintain his rank with fitting splendour.[4] Inquiry was made as to the terms in which Cromwell and his Council desired that his credentials should be couched; they would have wished Louis XIV. to address the Protector as *Mon frère,* but monarchical complaisance was not yet ready to go quite so far; the title of *Mon cousin* was accordingly

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 705, 759—763. See Appendix VI.

[2] Mazarin to Bordeaux, April 18, 1654, in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

[3] See Appendix VII.

[4] In February, 1654; Bordeaux to Brienne, March 2 and April 7, 1654; Baas to Mazarin, April 7, 10, 1654, in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France. See Appendix VII.

suggested, but Cromwell rejected it, declaring that he desired no other than that of *Monsieur le Protecteur*.[1] If the treaty of alliance were concluded, Mazarin offered him, first 1,200,000, then 1,500,000, and finally 1,800,000 livres a-year, and the restoration of Dunkirk to the English, as soon as the combined French and English troops should have gained possession of it.[2] The residence of the proscribed princes in France was a continual subject of distrust and protest on the part of Cromwell. Charles II. had indeed gone to live at Cologne,[3] but the Queen, his mother, and his two brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, still resided either at St. Germains, or at Paris; the Duke of York even served in the French army. Mazarin intimated that it would be easy "to send that prince, in some civil manner, to join his brother, and to assign to the Queen-mother some town in the kingdom, as an appanage, to which she could retire with the Duke of Gloucester, who, at a more advanced age, when his designs were capable of giving umbrage, should also be sent to rejoin the king, his brother." And to these political advances, Mazarin added all kinds of personal attentions. "Let me know," he wrote to M. de Baas, "whether the ambassador and yourself, on consulting together, think it would be well for me

[1] Bordeaux to Brienne, March and April, 1654, in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France. See Appendix VII.

[2] Mazarin to Baas, March 27, 1654; Mémoire pour servir d'instructions au Sieur de Bordeaux, July 16, 1654, in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France. See Appendix VII.

[3] At the beginning of June, 1654; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 113.

to send some Barbary horses to M. le Protecteur, and tell me whether it would be too great a familiarity to send him a present of wine; and, in short, advise me what other things would be most agreeable to him."[1]

The Cardinal was all the more anxious to please the Protector, because the Court of Spain was not his only rival in seeking his favour. On learning the establishment of the Protectorate, the Prince of Condé had hastened to write to Cromwell—"I rejoice infinitely," he said, "that justice has been done to the merit and virtue of your Highness. Therein alone could England expect to find safety and repose; and I hold the people of the three kingdoms to have reached the climax of their happiness, in finding their property and lives now intrusted to the guidance of so great a man. For my own part, I beseech your Highness to believe that I shall deem myself very happy if I can serve you on any occasion."[2] The prince's agents, Barrière and Cugnac, as well as the deputies from the town of Bordeaux, were still in London, striving to obtain, for the Fronde, the support of the Protector, as they had formerly sought that of the Parliament.[3]

Cromwell received all these advances with the same appearance of good will: not that he looked at them all with the same favourable eye, or that he hesitated

[1] Mazarin to Baas, April 8, 1654, in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

[2] Condé to Cromwell, December, 1653; in the Manuscrits de Brienne, Bibliothèque Impériale, Paris.

[3] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 760, vol. ii. pp. 259, 685; Bordeaux to Brienne, March 27, 1654, in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

careless or uncertain which to choose among allies so diverse. Unlike the Long Parliament, he inclined far more towards France than towards Spain; with superior sagacity, he perceived that Spain would thenceforward be an apathetic and decadent power, and, in spite of all her friendly demonstrations, more hostile than any other European State to Protestant England, for she was devoted, more exclusively than any other, to the maxims and influences of the Church of Rome.

And at the same time that there was but little to be expected from Spain, her vast possessions in the New World offered a rich and easy prey to the maritime ambition of England. From France, on the other hand, Cromwell had much to fear, for she held the Stuarts in her grasp; and also much useful assistance to hope for, as she was ruled by a free and active government, capable of thinking boldly and executing vigorously. But most of Cromwell's companions, Lambert among others, had not equally just notions as to the state of facts, and the interests of their country abroad; slavishly obedient to the routine of popular ideas and passions, they held France in especial abhorrence, and longed to be at war with her, for the honour, they said, as well as for the safety of their Commonwealth. Cromwell, always full of consideration for the opinions of the men of whom he had to make use, attempted to set them right on this particular; sometimes in private interviews, and sometimes in meetings at the house of his son Henry, his intimate confidants laboured to make Lambert, and the other officers who thought with him, understand the

danger of a definitive rupture with France, and the advantages which her alliance would afford. The Spanish ambassador sometimes had an inkling of these public intimations of Cromwell's private sentiments, "and he would then indulge," says Bordeaux, "in great imprecations against this Government, expressing his earnest wish that the King, his master, and the King of France would free themselves by a mutual accommodation, from all the cringings and fawnings which jealousy obliged them both to manifest towards the Protector, in order to gain him over to their interests." But Cromwell, who was in no anxiety to take any decided course, easily dispelled the ill humour of Cardeñas and of Bordeaux, by giving them each in turn reason to hope for his preference. He replied to their proposals by declaring his own. From Spain, besides the sum of fifty thousand crowns per month, which Cardeñas had offered him, he demanded the right of free navigation in the West Indies, and an assurance that English merchants might freely practise their religion in Spain, without being exposed to prosecution by the Inquisition, and with liberty to use the English Bible, and other religious books relating to their particular form of belief. From France, he wished to obtain first four millions, and then, at least, two millions of livres, per annum; the custody of some great maritime town, Brest for instance, until Dunkirk should be taken; the expulsion of the Stuarts, and of a certain number of royalists, whose names he stated; and, finally, liberty of conscience, and security of person and property, for the French Protestants.

Cardeñas and Bordeaux protested, each in his turn, against pretensions so exorbitant. "To demand immunity from the Inquisition, and free navigation in the West Indies," said Cardeñas, "is to demand the two eyes of my master;—nothing can be done, in this respect, except in conformity with ancient usage." "Demands so excessive," replied Bordeaux, "can be considered only as a pretext which M. le Protecteur wishes to employ in order to liberate himself from the promise he has given to come to an accommodation with France." Both negociations, however, continued with various oscillations, — sometimes Cromwell lessened his pretensions, sometimes more extensive concessions were offered him: matters were carried so far, especially on the side of France, as the careful preparation and minute discussion of drafts of a treaty, but nothing was concluded with either power; Cromwell held them both in suspense, and became more and more the object of their jealous assiduities.[1]

Thus caressed and sought after by all foreign powers, and victorious at home over all parties—seeing that civil order had been strengthened and peace restored by his authority—he believed himself in a position to face without danger the trial imposed on him by the seventh article of the Protectoral Constitution, and he issued writs for the election of a new Parlia-

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 705, 760, 761; Correspondence of Bordeaux with Brienne and Servien, July and August, 1654, in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France; Correspondence of Cardeñas and the Archduke Leopold with Philip IV., and Deliberations of the Spanish Council of State in March, April, and August, 1654, in the Archives of Simancas. See Appendix VIII.

ment, to meet on the 3rd of September, 1654, the anniversary of his victories at Dunbar and Worcester.

It was the first time, for fourteen years, that England had been called upon to elect a Parliament, and the electoral system itself was altogether new: the Constitutional Act had borrowed it almost entirely from the plan which Vane was on the point of getting voted by the Long Parliament, on the very day of its expulsion by Cromwell. There were to be four hundred and sixty members,—four hundred for England and Wales (of whom two hundred and fifty-one were to represent counties, and a hundred and forty-nine, cities and boroughs), thirty for Scotland, and thirty for Ireland; all persons possessing real or personal property to the value of 200*l.* were entitled to vote; no one was eligible for election unless he were a man of acknowledged integrity, fearing God, of unblemished morals, and twenty-one years of age; all persons who had taken part against the Parliament since the 1st of January, 1641, and all Catholics were deprived of the right of voting and of being voted for: this, briefly, was the system. Three parties strongly contested the elections: the adherents of the Protector, the Republicans, and the Presbyterians who had made war against the king, but who regretted the abolition of kingship. All the important members of Cromwell's Government, with the exception of Lord Lisle, were elected; among the republican leaders, Vane, Ludlow, Sidney, and Hutchinson either did not become candidates, or were rejected; but Bradshaw, Scott, Haslerig, and others, equally staunch

though less known, were chosen in preference to the Protector's candidates. The Presbyterians were numerous; they came, not as determined opponents, but as independent and not very friendly neutrals. The same condition was imposed on all, both by the twelfth article of the instrument of Government, and by the form of the writ ordaining their election: "That the persons elected shall not have power to alter the Government as it is hereby settled in one single person and a Parliament."[1]

At their first meeting, on the suggestion of Lambert, who, when the sermon was over, proposed that the members present should wait on the Protector in the Painted Chamber, where he was expecting them, some symptoms of ill-humour were manifested; several members cried out, "Sit still!" It was a Sunday, and no business could be done on that day. Cromwell had no intention of neglecting his religious duties; he merely gave a gracious reception to the Parliament, and begged the members to assemble on the following day in the same place, when he would make to them certain communications which he judged necessary for the welfare of the Commonwealth.[2]

"Gentlemen," he said to them on the next day, "you are met here on the greatest occasion that, I believe, England ever saw; having upon your

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. pp. 250—255, 291—294; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 21, 22; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 106—112; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. iii. pp. 158—162; vol. iv. pp. 262—264.

[2] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. p. 365; Goddard's Diary in the Introduction to Burton's Diary, vol. i. p. xviii.

shoulders the interests of three great nations; and truly, I believe I may say it without any hyperbole, you have upon your shoulders the interests of all the Christian people in the world. . . . . The end of your meeting, I judge to be, healing and settling." He abstained from reference to past transactions, which, he said, "instead of healing, might set the wound fresh a-bleeding;" but he paused to describe the state of the country at the time when the Protectoral Government had commenced. "What was our condition?" he asked. "What was the face that was upon our affairs as to the interests of the nation? as to the ranks and orders of men, whereby England has been known for hundreds of years? A nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman,—the distinction of these, that is a good interest of the nation, and a great one. The natural magistracy of the nation, was it not almost trampled under foot, under despite and contempt, by men of levelling principles? Did not that levelling principle tend to the reducing of all to an equality—not only for the orders of men and ranks of men, but for property and interest also? What was the purport of it but to make the tenant as liberal a fortune as the landlord? Which, I think, if obtained, would not have lasted long. The men of that principle, after they had served their own turns, would then have cried up property and interest fast enough. And that the thing did extend far, is manifest; because it was a pleasing voice to all poor men, and truly not unwelcome to all bad men. . . . . In spiritual things, the case was still more sad and

deplorable." He then went on to describe the unrestrained propagation of all the wild theories which, under the garb of religion, tended only to produce licentiousness, blasphemy, and madness. "The grace of God," he said, "was turned into wantonness; and Christ and the Spirit of God made a cloak for all villany and spurious apprehensions. . . . . And men can tell the magistrate that 'he hath nothing to do with men holding such notions; these are matters of conscience and opinion; he is to look to the outward man, not to the inward.' . . To what are such considerations and pretensions leading us? Liberty of conscience, and liberty of the subject—two as glorious things to be contended for, as any that God hath given us; yet both these abused for the patronising of villanies! . . . These things were in the midst of us; and nothing in the hearts and minds of men but, 'Overturn, overturn, overturn!' . . . To add to our misery, whilst we were in this condition, we were deeply engaged in war with the Portuguese; and not only this, but we had a war with Holland; and at the same time also, we were in a war with France. Besides the sufferings caused by these wars in respect to the trade of the nation, it's most evident that the purse of the nation could not have been able much longer to bear it; . . . and either things must have been left to sink into the miseries these premises would suppose, or else a remedy must be supplied. A remedy hath been applied: that hath been this Government; a thing I shall say little unto. The thing is open and visible,

to be seen and read by all men; and, therefore let it speak for itself. . . . But truly I may,—I hope, humbly before God, and modestly before you,—say somewhat on the behalf of the Government. Not that I would discourse of the particular heads of it, but acquaint you a little with the effects it has had, and what the state of our affairs is. . . .

"The Government hath had some things in desire, and hath done some things actually. It hath desired to reform the laws, and for that end bills have been prepared, which in due time, I make no question, will be tendered to you. . . . The Chancery hath been reformed, I hope to the satisfaction of all good men. . . . The Government hath further endeavoured to put a stop to that heady way of every man making himself a minister and preacher. It hath endeavoured to settle a method for the approving and sanctioning of men of piety and ability to discharge that work. . . . The Government hath also taken care, we hope, for the expulsion of all those who may be judged any way unfit for this work; who are scandalous, and the common scorn and contempt of that function. One thing more this Government hath done, it hath been instrumental to call a free Parliament, which, blessed be God, we see here this day. I say, a free Parliament! . . . I perhaps forgot, but indeed it was a caution upon my mind, and I desire now it may be so understood, that if any good hath been done, it was the Lord, not we His poor instruments.

"I did instance the wars, which did exhaust your

treasure, and put you into such a condition that you must have sunk therein, if it had continued but a few months longer. Now you have peace with Swedeland; peace with the Danes; peace with the Dutch; a peace unto which I shall say but little, seeing it is so well known in the benefit and consequences thereof. . . . Nothing so much gratified our enemies as to see us at odds with that Commonwealth; and so I persuade myself nothing is of more terror or trouble to them than to see us thus reconciled. Truly, as a peace with the Protestant States hath much security in it, so it hath as much of honour and of assurance to the Protestant interest abroad. I wish it may be written upon our hearts to be zealous for that interest. . . . You have a peace likewise with the crown of Portugal, which, your merchants make us believe, is of good concernment to their trades; . . . and moreover, by this treaty, our people which trade thither have liberty of conscience—liberty to worship in chapels of their own. Indeed peace is desirable with all men, as far as it may be had with conscience and honour. We are upon a treaty with France. . . . And I dare say that there is not a nation in Europe but is very willing to ask a good understanding with us. . . .

"Truly I thought it my duty to let you know, that though God hath dealt thus bountifully with you, yet these are but entrances and doors of hope, whereby, through the blessing of God, you may enter into rest and peace. But you are not yet entered. . . . I have not spoken these things as one who assumes to

himself dominion over you, but as one who doth resolve to be a fellow-servant with you to the interest of these great affairs, and of the people of these nations. I shall trouble you no longer, but desire you to repair to your House, and to exercise your own liberty in the choice of a Speaker, that so you may lose no time in carrying on your work."[1]

It would seem that words like these, marked by so much good sense, should have produced a strong impression upon men who were pledged, like Cromwell himself, to oppose the ancient monarchy, and who were interested in strengthening the government of the revolution; but when parties have reached a certain degree of separation and excitement, they will neither understand nor listen to one another; each follows its own special ideas, and advances towards its own particular object, without paying the slightest attention to any unwelcome truths that it may hear, and disregarding them even more contemptuously when they are uttered by suspicious lips. After the Protector's speech, the republicans, on their return to their place of meeting, renewed all the maxims and pretensions of the Long Parliament, which he had so recently expelled. They could remain satisfied neither with exercising the very extensive powers secured to them by the Instrument of government, nor with restoring to vigour the legal and necessary privileges of the House,—such, for instance, as entire liberty of discussion and speech: three days after

[1] Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 23—45; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. pp. 318—333.

their installation, they decided, after an animated debate, by a hundred and forty-one votes against a hundred and thirty-six, that, on the following day, they would form themselves into a Committee of the whole House to deliberate upon the question, "whether the House shall approve of the system of government by a single person and a Parliament."[1]

This was far more than the assertion of a rival ambition: it was a systematic determination to admit the legitimacy of no government and of no power which did not emanate from the Parliament, as the creature from its creator; it was the proclamationof the primordial, individual and absolute sovereignty, in principle, of the people, and in fact, of the Parliament, as representing the people.

Cromwell was not a philosopher, he did not act in obedience to systematic and premeditated views; but he was guided in his government by the superior instinct and practical good sense of a man destined by the hand of God to govern. He had watched the operation of this arrogant design to create the entire government by the sole will of the people, or of the Parliament; he had himself audaciously promoted the work of destruction which had preceded the new creation; and, amidst the ruins which his hands had made, he had perceived the vanity of his rash hopes; he had learned that no government is, or can be, the work of man's will alone; he had recognized, as essential to its production, the hand of God, the action of time, and a variety of other causes apart from

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 365—367.

human deliberation. Entering, so to speak, into council with these superior powers, he regarded himself as their representative and minister, by the right of his genius, and of his manifold successes. He resolved not to suffer interference with what they had done, and he had done, to establish, in the stead of fallen monarchy, the new government over which he presided.

The Parliament had spent four days in discussing the question whether it should give this government its approbation. On the morning of the 12th of September, 1654, the members were proceeding to the House, as usual, to continue this debate; and on their way they were constantly met by reports that the Parliament was dissolved, and that the Council of State and Council of War, sitting together as one body, had decided upon its dissolution. On their arrival at Westminster, they found the doors of the Parliament House shut, and guarded by soldiers; some of them attempted to go up the stairs: "There is no passage that way," said the guard; "the House is locked up, and we have orders to give no admittance to any person. If you are a Member, go into the Painted Chamber, where the Protector will presently be."[1] Westminster Hall, the Court of Requests, and the Painted Chamber, were full of Members walking up and down, anxiously questioning one another, and awaiting the Protector's arrival. At about ten o'clock, Cromwell appeared, attended by his officers and life-guards, and took his stand on the raised dais

[1] Burton's Diary, vol. i. p. xxxiii.

where he had stood a week before to open the Parliament. "Gentlemen," he said to them, "it is not long since I met you in this place, upon an occasion which gave me much more content and comfort than this doth. . . . I did then acquaint you what was the first rise of this government, which hath called you hither, and by the authority of which you have come hither. Among other things which I then told you, I said you were a free Parliament; and truly, so you are,—whilst you own the government and authority which called you hither. But certainly that word, free Parliament, implied a reciprocity, or it implied nothing at all: and I think your actions and carriage ought to be suitable. But I see it will be necessary for me now a little to magnify my office. . . . I called not myself to this place . . . I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity. I have been called to several employments in the nation—to serve in Parliament and elsewhere; and I did endeavour to discharge the duty of an honest man in those services. . . . Having had some occasions to see, together with my brethren and countrymen, a happy period put to our sharp wars and contests with the then common enemy, I hoped, in a private capacity, to have reaped the fruit and benefit of our hard labours and hazards. . . . I hoped to have had leave to retire to a private life. I begged to be dismissed of my charge; I begged it again and again; —and God be judge between me and all men if I lie in this matter. That I lie not, in matter of fact, is

known to very many; but whether I tell a lie in my heart, as labouring to represent to you what was not upon my heart, I say, the Lord be judge." He then proceeded to narrate, in this tone, all his past career—his struggle with the Long Parliament, the overtures he had received from that body, and the necessity he had been under to dissolve it. "Because of my manner of life," he continued, "which had led me up and down the nation, thereby giving me to see and know the temper and spirits of all men, and of the best of men; I knew that the nation loathed their sitting. . . . Under their arbitrary power, poor men were driven, like flocks of sheep, by forty in a morning, to the confiscation of goods and estates, without any man being able to give a reason why two of them had deserved to forfeit a shilling. . . . And so far as I could discern, when they were dissolved, there was not so much as the barking of a dog, or any general and visible repining at it!" He then referred to the convocation of the Barebone Parliament. "I have appealed to God before you already," he said: "though it be a tender thing to make appeals to God, yet I trust in such exigencies as these it will not offend His majesty. And I say to you again, in the presence of that God who hath blessed, and been with me in all my adversities and successes, that my greatest end was to lay down the power which was in my hands. The authority I had was boundless,—for by Act of Parliament, I was General of all the forces in the three nations; in which unlimited condition I did not desire to live a

day,—wherefore, we called that meeting. What the event and issue of that meeting was, we may sadly remember. It hath much teaching in it, and I hope will make us all wiser for the future. . . . The result was that they came and brought to me a parchment, signed by very much the major part of them, expressing their re-delivery and resignation of the power and authority that had been committed them, back again into my hands. And I can say it, in the presence of divers persons here who know whether I lie in that, that I did not know one tittle of that resignation, till they all came and brought it, and delivered it into my hands. . . . My power was again, by this resignation, become as boundless and unlimited as before. All government was dissolved: all civil administration was at an end. I was arbitrary in power; having the armies in the three nations under my command; and truly not very ill-beloved by them, nor very ill-beloved by the people—by the good people. The gentlemen that undertook to frame this government did consult divers days together, how to frame somewhat that might give us settlement; and that I was not privy to their councils they know. When they had finished their model in some measure, they told me that except I would undertake the government, they thought things would hardly come to a composure or settlement, but blood and confusion would break in upon us. I refused it again and again; not complimentingly,—as they know, and as God knows! . . . . They urged on me, 'That I did not hereby

receive anything which put me into a higher capacity than before; but that it limited me—that it bound my hands to act nothing without the consent of a Council, until the Parliament met, and then limited me by the Parliament. After many arguments, and at the entreaty and request of divers persons of honour and quality, I did accept of the place and title of Protector. . . . I shall submit to your judgment, that I brought not myself into this condition . . . . This was not done in a corner: it was open and public. . . . I have a cloud of witnesses. I have witnesses within, without, above! . . . I had the approbation of the officers of the army, in the three nations. And with their express consent, there went along an implied consent also of a body of persons who had had somewhat to do in the world; who had been instrumental, under God, to fight down the enemies of God and of His people—I mean, the soldiery. And truly, the soldiery were a very considerable part of these nations, especially when all government was thus dissolved, and nothing to keep things in order but the sword. And yet they,—which many histories will not parallel—even they were desirous that things ought to come to a consistency, and arbitrariness be taken away, and the government be put into the hands of a person limited and bounded, as in the Act of Settlement, whom they distrusted the least, and loved not the worst. . . . I would not forget the approbation I found in the great city of London,—and from many cities, and boroughs, and counties:—express approbations in name of the noblemen, gentlemen,

yeomen, and inhabitants, giving very great thanks to me for undertaking this heavy burden at such a time . . . Nor is this all. The judges did declare, that they could not administer justice to the satisfaction of their consciences, until they had received commissions from me. . . . And I have yet more witnesses. . . . All the sheriffs in England are my witnesses; and all that have come in upon a process issued out by sheriffs are my witnesses. All the people in England are my witnesses; and many in Ireland and Scotland. And I shall now make you my last witnesses—and shall ask you, whether you came not hither by my writs, directed to the several sheriffs? To which writs the people gave obedience; having also had the Act of Government communicated to them, which was required to be distinctly read unto the people at the place of election, to avoid surprises, or misleadings of them through their ignorance. There also they signed the indenture, with proviso, 'That the persons so chosen should not have power to alter the government as now settled in one single person and a Parliament.'

"This being the case, though I told you in my last speech that you were a free Parliament, yet I thought it was understood withal that I was the Protector, and the authority that called you; that I was in possession of the government by a good right from God and men. . . . May not this character, this stamp, bear equal force with any hereditary interest that could furnish or hath furnished, in the common law or elsewhere, matter of dispute and trial of learning?

I do not know why I may not balance this Providence, in the sight of God, with any hereditary interest. . . . And for you to disown or not to own it; for you to act with Parliamentary authority, especially in the disowning of it, contrary to the very fundamental things, yea, against the very root itself of this establishment; to sit, and not own the authority by which you sit—is that which I believe astonisheth more men than myself, and doth as dangerously disappoint and discompose the nation as anything that could have been invented by the greatest enemy to our peace and welfare, or that could well have happened. It is true, as there are some things in the establishment which are fundamental, so there are others which are not, but only circumstantial. But some things are fundamentals! In every government there must be somewhat fundamental, somewhat like a Magna Charta, which should be standing, unalterable. The government by a single person and a Parliament is a fundamental. . . . That Parliaments should not make themselves perpetual is a fundamental. . . . And again is not liberty of conscience in religion a fundamental? Liberty of conscience is a natural right; and he that would have it, ought to give it. . . . But I told you some things were circumstantials?—as, for example, this is; that we should have 200,000*l.* to defray civil offices; or that we should have twenty thousand foot-soldiers and ten thousand horse, though, if the spirits of men were composed, five thousand horse and ten thousand foot might serve. These things are circumstantials, and,

therefore, matters of consideration between you and me. . . . But I can sooner be willing to be rolled into my grave, and buried with infamy, than I can give my consent unto the wilful throwing away of this government, in the fundamentals of it!

"I would it had not been needful for me to call you hither to expostulate these things with you, and in such a manner as this. But necessity hath no law. Feigned necessities, imaginary necessities, are the greatest cozenage that men can put upon the Providence of God; but it is as contrary to God's free grace, as carnal and as stupid, to think there are no manifest and real necessities, because necessities may be abused or feigned. I had a thought within myself, that it would not have been dishonest nor dishonourable, nor against true liberty, not even the liberty of Parliaments, if,—when a Parliament was so chosen as you have been, in pursuance of this Instrument of Government, and in conformity to it, and with such an approbation and consent to it,—some owning of your call and of the authority which brought you hither, had been required before your entrance into the House. This was declined and hath not been done, because I am persuaded scarce any man could doubt you came with contrary minds. And I have reason to believe the people that sent you least of all doubted thereof. And therefore I must deal plainly with you. What I forbore upon a just confidence at first, you necessitate me unto now! Seeing the authority which called you is so little valued, and so much slighted,—till some assurance be given and

made known that the fundamental interest shall be settled and approved, according to the proviso in the writ of return, and such a consent testified as will make it appear that the same is accepted,—I have caused a stop to be put to your entrance into the Parliament House.

"I am sorry, I am sorry, and I could be sorry to the death, that there is cause for this. But there is cause. . . . There is therefore somewhat to be offered to you: a promise of reforming as to circumstantials, and agreeing in the substance and fundamentals, that is to say, in the form of government now settled. The making of your minds known in that, by giving your assent and subscription to it, is the means that will let you in, to act those things as a Parliament which are for the good of the people . . . . The place where you may come thus and sign, as many as God shall make free thereunto, is in the lobby without the Parliament door."[1]

So much boldness in displaying his power, and in making indiscriminate use of force and right, truth and falsehood, in the assertion of his authority, struck all minds with stupor. Indignant, but powerless, the republican leaders, Bradshaw, Scott, and Haslerig, refused to give any pledge, and returned home again; and to the honour of the party, about a hundred and fifty members followed their example. But the

[1] Burton's Diary, vol. i. pp. xxxii.—xxxvi.; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 50—76; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. pp. 348—371; Commons' Journals, vol. vii. p. 367; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 211—212.

majority of members either approved or submitted; on the very first day, a hundred and forty signed the required engagement; before the end of the month, more than three hundred had subscribed it, and the Parliament resumed its labours. Cromwell manifested no ill feeling towards the recusant members: "I had rather they would stay without," he said; "one malcontent that is within the House may do more harm than ten that are without."[1] Those who remained, however, considered that some explanation and some reservation were due to the principles of legal order, and to their own honour: on the 14th of September, at the suggestion of Whitelocke, the Parliament declared that the pledge to make no change in the government did not apply to the whole forty-two articles of the Protectoral Constitution, but only to the first article which established the government of the Commonwealth by a single person and successive Parliaments. Four days after, on the 18th of September, in order to give an air of independence to their servility, the House converted the whole of Cromwell's recent conduct into a measure of their own, and resolved: "That all persons returned, or who shall be returned, to serve in this Parliament, shall, before they be admitted to sit in the House, subscribe the recognition of the Government—to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, and not to propose, or give consent, to alter the government, as it is settled in one person and a Parliament."[2] A disreputable artifice of

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 715.

[2] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. p. 368; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. pp. 370, 371; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 605.

a mutilated assembly, which falsely ascribed to itself an act of violence, in order to cover its humiliation by the lie!

A singular accident was well nigh causing the abrupt overthrow of the precarious edifice, so laboriously supported by the strong arm of one man. On the 29th of September, Cromwell had taken it into his head to dine in the open air, in Hyde Park, with Thurloe and some of his household; his carriage was harnessed with six Friesland horses which the Duke of Oldenburgh had sent him not long before; and he resolved to try, with his own hand, the mettle of these animals, "not doubting," says Ludlow, "but they would prove as tame as the three nations which were ridden by him." Thurloe could not resist the desire to ride in a carriage driven by the Protector, and so got inside. Cromwell "drove pretty handsomely for some time, but, at last, provoking the horses too much with the whip, they grew unruly;" the postilion was thrown; Cromwell fell from the coach-box upon the pole, and from the pole to the ground; his foot caught in the harness, and he was dragged along for a moment, but he quickly extricated himself, and the carriage passed on without touching him. During his fall, a pistol went off in his pocket, revealing, in the accidental danger which he had incurred, his secret precautions against the constant dangers by which he was surrounded. He was immediately taken up—as well as Thurloe, who had dislocated his ankle by jumping out of the carriage—and conveyed to Whitehall, where he was let blood, and remained confined to

his room for nearly three weeks, during which time he received few visitors, and gave but little attention to business. The Government newspapers made no allusion to the accident; those of the opposition merely mentioned the danger to which the Protector had been exposed, without specifying its cause; the court poets celebrated his miraculous deliverance; so long as he remained confined to his room, his enemies said that he was very ill, and his friends that he was in health; but, in reality, the accident was more dangerous in possibility than in fact, and the terms in which the various foreign Ministers speak of it in their letters to their Courts, show that the public was neither long nor seriously alarmed at it.[1]

Cromwell's real or apparent inactivity lasted much longer than his indisposition; for more than three months, he remained almost utterly unmoved and silent, as if his only intention were to watch and wait. Meanwhile Parliament was discussing the constitution of the Protectorate.

The leaders of the republican opposition, and the majority of their party, were no longer in the House; but their presumptuous and obstinate rashness remained after their withdrawal. Convoked for the purpose of establishing a government, the sole anxiety of the House was to discuss a constitution; for more than three months they were employed in dissecting and amending the forty-two articles, which they

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 652, 653, 656; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 215; Bates's Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum, part ii. p. 350; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. p. 133. See Appendix IX.

increased to sixty, with that democratic mistrust and theological subtlety which are equally tiresome and dangerous to the ruling power. Should the Protector have a share in the legislature, or should he be strictly limited to the executive? Should his veto on the resolutions of the Parliament be always merely suspensive, and if so, for what period of time; or sometimes peremptory, and if so, in what cases? In whom should the right of declaring war and making peace be vested? Under what limitations should the Protector be intrusted with the disposal and command of the army and militia? Who should appoint the Council of State? What should be the extent of the powers of the Protector, in the matter of making laws and imposing taxes, during the absence of the Parliament, and in cases of urgency? These questions, though already settled in the Instrument of Government establishing the Protectorate, were resumed and discussed as though that Instrument had never existed, or were only an unauthoritative text for debate; and their discussion occupied all the sittings of the House, and often two sittings daily, from the 20th of September, 1654, to the 20th of January, 1655. There was a fixed determination to take no note of what had been done already, and to institute the Protectoral government afresh, in virtue of the exclusive sovereignty of the people and Parliament. And the debates, though animated, were hypocritical, for the opposing parties were all secretly influenced by views which they did not openly avow; the partizans of the Protector wished to give still further development to the monar-

chical reaction which had begun under that name; the republicans who had submitted to Cromwell, struggled to maintain, in the institutions of the country, means of return for the expiring republic; and the Presbyterians endeavoured once more to introduce those principles of parliamentary monarchy, in furtherance of which they had begun the revolution. Some Cavaliers who had gained admission into the House by dissembling their opinions and origin, laboured, under the mask of great zeal for liberty or the Commonwealth, to foment dissensions which they hoped would terminate in the common ruin of their various enemies. In presence of these incoherent elements, ever ready to coalesce against him, though for contrary purposes, Cromwell and his adherents vainly attempted to exercise an amount of influence in the House which might make it an instrument of strength and stability to his government: but it only served to hamper or to menace his power, and he frequently suffered repulses from it, as offensive as they were unexpected.[1]

Upon the question which affected him most closely, he had bitter experience of the small amount of influence which he possessed. In the general committee by which the constitution had been just discussed, the question arose whether the Protectorate should be elective or hereditary; but as an hereditary succession had seemed to meet with but little favour, the proposition had been indefinitely postponed. It

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 368—413; Burton's Diary, vol. i. pp. xl. cxxxiii., vol. iii. pp. 550, 551; Bates's Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum, part ii. p. 392.

was brought forward again on the 16th of October, 1654, upon occasion of the examination of the thirty-second article of the constitution, and the discussion lasted three days. "There was little appearance," wrote Bordeaux to the Count de Brienne, "that the resolution would be favourable; nevertheless, the Protector, either being persuaded to the contrary, or influenced by some other consideration not known to all the world, has again ventilated this question. At first his party appeared to be the strongest; even General Lambert made an harangue to persuade the Parliament that it was necessary to make the office of Protector hereditary; but when the votes were taken, all his relatives and friends were in favour of making it elective, so that, out of the two hundred and sixty members of whom this body is composed, two hundred were of the same opinion; which has surprised not only the public, but also the family of the Protector, who, on the previous day, thought themselves sure of retaining that dignity in their house." [1]

Not satisfied with thus opposing or trammelling the Protector in his political views, the House waged an almost continual warfare with him on religious matters also, though in this respect their hostility was less direct and open. In order to secure liberty of conscience, within the limits allowed by the spirit of his age, Cromwell had obtained the insertion of the fol-

[1] Bordeaux to Brienne, October 29, 1654, in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 681; Burton's Diary, vol. i. p. li.; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 134—136.

lowing article in the Instrument of Government: "That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ (though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth) shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in, the profession of their faith and exercise of their religion; so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts: Provided this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, nor to such as, under the profession of Christ, hold forth and practise licentiousness." [1] These restrictions, though already severe, were not enough for the Presbyterians, who were numerous and powerful in the House; and they determined to augment them in every possible way. A committee of fourteen members, assisted by an equal number of divines, among whom Presbyterian influences prevailed, was appointed to prepare the creed which was to be subscribed by all ministers holding public benefices. The same commissioners were further directed to define, by the essential characteristics implied therein, the words—"Such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ," in order to confine, within the limits of that definition, the liberty promised to dissenting Christians. Another committee was appointed to prepare a list of all heresies that should be considered damnable. And suiting their practice to their maxims, Parliament ordered the prosecution and imprisonment of several heretics,—one John Biddle among others, a sincere and humble, but

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 261.

obstinate freethinker, who had published various works subversive of Christian doctrine. Parliament commanded that the books should be burned by the common hangman, and that a bill should be prepared for the punishment of their author.[1]

At the same time that, upon questions of constitutional organisation, the House proved itself thus indefatigable and untractable, it neglected from carelessness or premeditation, all other questions, and all other business. Several bills were brought forward in reference to the Court of Chancery,[2] the Court of Wards,[3] the equalisation of taxation, the celebration of marriages,[4] the treatment of idiots and lunatics,[5] the abolition of purveyance,[6] the relief of prisoners for debt,[7] indeed, almost all the subjects in which the public was at all deeply interested; but not one of these propositions was finally discussed and adopted. At the same time the measures of reform which, in the absence of the Parliament, the Protector had promulgated on his own authority,—especially those which related to proceedings before the Court of Chancery, and the expulsion of ignorant or inefficient ministers and schoolmasters, were suspended and referred to committees which were directed to subject them to complete revision.[8] This was at once a post-

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 373, 399, 400, 416; Baxter's Life, vol. i. part ii. pp. 197—205; Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. pp. 122, 123; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 144—148; Whitelocke, p. 609.

[2] Commons' Journals, November 15 and 25, 1654.

[3] Ibid., October 31, 1654.

[4] Ibid., September 26, 1654.

[5] Ibid., January 15, 1655.

[6] Ibid., November 21, 1654.

[7] Ibid., October 25, 1654.

[8] Ibid., October 5, 10, 13, and 23, 1654.

ponement of reform, and an insult to the Protector. Another committee had been appointed to inquire what reductions could be effected in the army and fleet, and to confer with Cromwell on the subject:[1] the conferences, however, were infrequent or dilatory, and although certain reductions were determined upon,[2] particularly in the fleet, it does not appear that they were ever carried out. When the question of supplies arose, the delays, which were then far more serious, became far more voluntary and premeditated: two months elapsed without the Parliament appearing to think that any supplies were necessary; and when at last it did take the subject into consideration, the resolutions which it adopted were merely provisional and altogether ineffectual.[3] An ordinance issued by the Protector had fixed the sum to be devoted to the payment of the army and fleet, first at 120,000*l.*, and then at 90,000*l.* per month; the Parliament, without appearing to suspect or care about the insufficiency of the sum, reduced it to 60,000*l.*;[4] and even after this reduction, the bill was indefinitely delayed, and was never presented to the Protector for his sanction. Sometimes the House, from intimidation or a spontaneous feeling of anxiety, suddenly rescinded its hostile or dilatory votes, and adopted resolutions in conformity with the wishes of the Government; but it soon relapsed into its former course, having only added proofs of its hesitation and weakness to those

[1] Commons' Journals, September 26, 1654.
[2] Ibid., October 5, 1654.
[3] Ibid., November 7 and 21, 1654.
[4] Ibid., November 28, 29, and December 4 and 20, 1654.

which already existed of its ill-will. Evidently, its only serious occupation was its secret struggle with the Protector, and it laboured unceasingly to make his government insupportable or impossible to him, without possessing courage or power to take it from him by force.[1]

For a long time, Cromwell endured this hostility with patience, as he hoped it would involve the Parliament in greater discredit than it would entail danger upon himself; finally, however, it began to annoy and alarm him: such constant criticisms, though indirect, and timidly uttered, tarnished and undermined his power; by the delay and insufficiency of the supplies granted, the House tended to the indefinite prolongation of the session. Cromwell, in his turn, grew angry, and hinted a dissolution. His more moderate advisers, Whitelocke among others, who had, apparently, acquired considerable influence in the House, endeavoured to dissuade him from this course; sudden dissolutions, they said, had always proved fatal to the power which effected them; and besides, what reason was there for such rash haste? The legal term of the session was at hand; for as, by the eighth article of the constitution, the House was to sit for five months only, its tenure of office would legally expire on the 3rd of February; and he might then, with far less noise and inconvenience, pronounce its dissolution if he pleased. But these arguments

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 370, 373, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 382, 385, 387, 390, 392, 394, 405, 415; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 140—143, 148—151.

had little effect upon Cromwell; the House, while devolving upon him all the responsibility of the government, prevented him from governing; he was embarrassed and irritated; he longed to answer these stealthy and indirect attacks by a bold and decisive act; and courtiers were not wanting around him to stimulate his passion, and urge him to execute his design.[1]

Whilst he was thus deliberating, the House itself supplied him with the pretext and the opportunity for which he waited. It had at length brought its debates on the constitution to a close; and on the 10th of January, 1655, the partizans of Cromwell demanded that before they finally passed the bill,—which was entitled "An Act declaring and settling the Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging,"—they should have a conference with the Protector on the subject; but the proposition was rejected by one hundred and seven votes against ninety-five. Six days afterwards, on the 16th of January, the House further resolved, by eighty-six votes against fifty-five, that this bill should become law without the Protector's consent. No sooner had they adopted this resolution, than they became conscious that they had gone too far, and they retracted it on the following day, by voting "that the bill be engrossed, in order to its presentment to the Lord Protector, for his consideration and consent;"

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 250; Whitelocke, p. 610.

but at the same time, they decided that unless the Protector and Parliament should agree to the whole and every part of the bill, it should be void and of no effect; thus depriving Cromwell of all liberty to amend or alter its provisions.[1]

Cromwell took his resolution at once. An expedient was suggested to him by which he would be able, in appearance at least, to act with legality. It was customary, in paying the troops, to reckon by lunar months of twenty-eight days. By applying this method to the duration of the Parliament, the five months of session, to which it was entitled by the Instrument of Government, would expire on the 22nd of January, 1655. On the morning of that day, the Protector, with his usual retinue, proceeded to Westminster, and summoned the House to attend him in the Painted Chamber. They came, in much surprise and apprehension, expecting some rough remonstrance, but not at all anticipating an immediate dissolution. "Gentlemen," said Cromwell, "when I first met you in this room, it was to my apprehension the hopefullest day that ever mine eyes saw, as to the considerations of this world: and I came with very great joy and contentment, and comfort. . . . I met you a second time here, and I confess, at that meeting, I had much abatement of my hopes, though not a total frustration . . . I did think, as I have formerly found in that way that I have been engaged in as a soldier,

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 414, 418, 419.

that some affronts put upon us, some disasters at the first, had made way for very great and happy successes; and I did not at all despond but the stop put upon you, in like manner, would have made way for a blessing from God . . . But we, and these nations, are, for the present, under some disappointment! . . . Sure I am you will all bear me witness that, from your entering into the House upon the recognition, to this day, you have had no manner of interruption or hindrance of mine, in proceeding to what blessed issue the heart of a good man could propose to himself. You have me very much locked up as to what you have transacted among yourselves, from that time to this. But as I may not take notice what you have been doing, so I think I have a very great liberty to tell you that I do not know what you have been doing. I do not know whether you have been alive or dead. I have not once heard from you all this time; and that you all know.—If I have had any melancholy thoughts, and have sat down by them, why might it not have been very lawful for me to think that I was a person judged unconcerned in all these businesses? I can assure you I have not so reckoned myself. Nor did I reckon myself unconcerned in you. . . . I have been careful of your safety, and the safety of those that you represented, to whom I reckon myself a servant. I have been caring for you, for your quiet sitting, for your privileges, that they might not be interrupted. I have been consulting if possibly I might in anything

promote the real good of this Parliament. And I did think it to be my business rather to see the utmost issue, and what God would produce by you, than unseasonably to intermeddle with you. . .

"I will tell you somewhat, which, if it be not news to you, I wish you had taken very serious consideration of. If it be news, I wish I had acquainted you with it sooner. And yet, if any man will ask me why I did not, the reason is, because I did make it my business to give you no interruption. There be some trees that will not grow under the shadow of other trees; there be some that choose to thrive under the shadow of other trees. I will tell you what hath thriven,—I will not say what you have cherished,—under your shadow; that were too hard. Instead of peace and settlement,—instead of mercy and truth being brought together, and righteousness and peace kissing each other, by your reconciling the honest people of these nations, and settling the woful distempers that are amongst us,—weeds and nettles, briars and thorns, have thriven under your shadow. Dissettlement and division, discontent and dissatisfaction, together with real dangers to the whole State, have been more multiplied within these five months of your sitting, than in some years before. Foundations have also been laid for the future renewing of the troubles of these nations, by all the enemies of them abroad and at home. Let not these words seem too sharp, for they are true as any mathematical demonstrations are, or can be. . . During your sittings

and proceedings, the Cavalier party have been designing and preparing to put this nation in blood again. . . . They have been making great preparations of arms. . . Banks of money have been framing, for these and other such like uses. Letters have been issued with privy seals, to as great persons as most are in the nation, for the advance of money. Commissions for regiments of horse and foot, and command of castles, have been likewise given from Charles Stuart, since your sitting. And what the general insolences of that party have been, honest people know and can very well testify.—Nor is this all. Men have appeared of another sort than those before mentioned to you; 'a company of men like briars and thorns;' and worse, if worse can be.[1] These also have been, and yet are, endeavouring to put us into blood and into confusion; more desperate and dangerous confusion than England ever yet saw. . . If a commonwealth must fall, it is some satisfaction that it perish by men, and not by the hands of persons differing little from beasts: if it must needs suffer, it should rather suffer from rich men than from poor men, who, as Solomon says, 'when they oppress, leave nothing behind them, but are as a sweeping rain.' Now such as these also are grown up under your shadow. . . . They have taken encouragement from your delays; . . . they confess they built their hopes upon the assurance they had of the Parliament's not agreeing to a settlement. . . . Yet you might have had an oppor-

[1] The Anabaptist Levellers.

tunity to have settled peace and quietness amongst all professing godliness, and have rendered them and these nations both secure, happy, and well satisfied. There was a government already in the possession of the people; a government which hath now been exercised near fifteen months, . . . wherein I dare assert there is a just liberty to the people of God, and the just right of the people in these nations are provided for. . . . For myself, I desire not to keep my place in this government an hour longer than I may preserve England in its just rights, and may protect the people of God in such a just liberty of their consciences as I have already mentioned. And therefore, if this Parliament have judged things to be otherwise than as I have stated them, it had been huge friendliness for you to have convinced me in what particulars my error lay. Of which I never yet had a word from you. But if, instead thereof, your time has been spent in setting up somewhat else upon another bottom than this stands upon, it looks as if the laying grounds for a quarrel had rather been designed, than to give the people settlement. If it be thus, it's well your labours have not arrived to any maturity at all! . .

"But wherein have you had cause to quarrel? What demonstrations have you held forth to settle me to your opinion? I would you had made me so happy as to have let me know your grounds. . . . Was there none amongst you to move such a thing? . . If it be not folly in me to listen to town-talk, such

things have been proposed, and rejected, with stiffness and severity, once and again. . . . I would not have been averse to alteration, of the good of which I might have been convinced. . . . But I must tell you this: That as I undertook this government, in the simplicity of my heart and as before God, to do the part of an honest man, and to be true to the Commonwealth,—so I can say that no particular interest, either of myself, estate, honour or family, are, or have been, prevalent with me to this undertaking. For if you had, upon the old Instrument of Government, offered me this one, this one thing,—I speak as thus advised, and before God, as having been to this day of this opinion; and this hath been my constant judgment, well known to many who hear me speak;—if, I say, this one thing had been inserted, that the government should have been placed in my family hereditarily, I would have rejected it! And I could have done no other according to my present conscience and light: . . . though I cannot tell what God will do with me, nor with you, nor with the nation, for throwing away precious opportunities committed to us. . . .

"I know that I am like to meet with difficulties; and that this nation will not, as it is fit it should not, be deluded with pretexts of necessity in that great business of raising money. . . . If I had not a hope fixed in me that this cause and this business was of God, I would many years ago have run from it. If it be of God, He will bear it up. If it be of man, it

will tumble, as everything that hath been of man since the world began, hath done. And what are all our histories, and other traditions of actions in former times, but God manifesting Himself, that He hath shaken and tumbled down, and trampled upon, everything that He had not planted? And, as this is, so let the All-wise God deal with it. If this be of human structure and invention, and if it be an old plotting and contriving to bring things to this issue, and that they are not the births of Providence, then they will tumble. But if the Lord take pleasure in England, and if He will do us good, He is very able to bear us up! Let the difficulties be whatsoever they will, we shall in His strength be able to encounter them. And I bless God, I have been inured to difficulties; and I never found God failing when I trusted in Him. I can laugh and sing, in my heart, when I speak of these things to you, and elsewhere. And though some may think it is an hard thing to raise money without Parliamentary authority upon this nation; yet I have another argument to the good people of this nation, if they would be safe, namely: whether they prefer the having of their will though it be their destruction, rather than comply with things of necessity? That will excuse me. But I should wrong my native country to suppose this.

"I have troubled you with a long speech: and I believe it may not have the same resentment with all that it hath with some. But because that is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God:—and conclude with

this: that I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these nations, nor for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer, and therefore I do declare unto you, that I do dissolve this Parliament."[1]

[1] Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 89—118; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. pp. 403—431; Whitelocke, pp. 610—618; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 216; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 153—157.

BOOK VI.

GOVERNMENT OF CROMWELL WITHOUT A PARLIAMENT—ROYALIST AND REPUBLICAN CONSPIRACIES—DIFFERENT ATTITUDE OF CROMWELL TOWARDS THE TWO PARTIES—INSURRECTIONS IN THE WEST AND NORTH OF ENGLAND—ATTEMPTS AT LEGAL RESISTANCE—APPOINTMENTS OF MAJOR-GENERALS—TAXATION OF THE ROYALISTS—CROMWELL'S RELIGIOUS TOLERATION—HIS CONDUCT TOWARDS THE JEWS, TOWARDS THE UNIVERSITIES, AND TOWARDS LITERARY MEN—GOVERNMENT OF MONK IN SCOTLAND, AND OF HENRY CROMWELL IN IRELAND—CROMWELL'S CONVERSATIONS WITH LUDLOW.

Cromwell's indignation was not feigned; he returned to Whitehall, dissatisfied but confident; he was conscious of his strength, had implicit faith in his good-fortune, and heartily despised the adversaries who attempted to prevent him from governing. Were they capable of taking the government themselves? Whom had they to substitute in his stead? He alone could preserve them from the return of Charles Stuart, by maintaining order and peace throughout the country. Besides, theoretically, he did not aspire to absolute power; he did not set it up as a legal and durable system; he was well acquainted with the conditions of government in England,—a monarch, a Parliament, and the law. But he, personally, re-

quired a Parliament that would admit his past conduct and present authority as indisputable facts; and that would act as his accomplice, not as his rival. He had once hoped that the Parliament which he had just dissolved would understand this position, and satisfy both the requirements of the new Prince, and the ancient traditions of the country. This had proved an utter miscalculation; and he resented it with that irritated pride which pervades great hearts that have been deceived in their expectations, and are determined not to endure a reverse.

To this miscalculation was added danger. Cromwell spoke the truth when he reproached the Parliament with having revived the hopes and conspiracies of the Royalists and Levellers by their opposition to the Protectorate. The royalist party was in motion throughout England, Scotland and Ireland: in the counties, the gentlemen frequently visited one another or met together, to kindle their loyalty by an exchange of their plans, and of the news they had received: between them and the little court of Charles II. at Cologne, correspondence was constantly kept up, and messengers were continually passing. The central committee, which alone in England had instructions and secret powers from the proscribed king, were opposed to any armed outbreak; nothing was ripe, nothing was ready yet, they said; it would be better to wait until the internal dissensions of the army and the unfavourable feelings of the country had received further development; by too much precipitancy, they might lose their opportunity. The

high-spirited Cavaliers, the men of action, complained, on the other hand, of the lukewarmness of the committees, which allowed every opportunity to escape, and gave Cromwell time to discover every plot. Beyond the limits of their own party, circumstances, in the opinion of the boldest, seemed favourable to their cause: a feeling of republican dissatisfaction, more violent than general, was fermenting in the army. Among the troops stationed near his residence or within his reach, Cromwell was easily able to dispel or crush these symptoms of opposition; but at a distance, the ill-will was more undisguised, and men were not wanting to head the malcontents. Ludlow was still in Ireland, and though not at all an enterprising man, he was a blunt, rough soldier, openly opposed to the Protector, and had formally refused to promise not to engage in any movement against him. Cromwell had sent back to his command in Scotland, Colonel Overton, a brave and pious officer, rash with mystic gentleness, who possessed the confidence of the saints in the lower ranks of the army, and believed it his duty, if they required it, to make himself the faithful instrument of the Lord, in the midst of so many worldly backslidings. Colonels Okey, Alured, Cobbett and Mason shared the sentiments of Overton, but like him, they were full of hesitation and uneasiness when the moment drew near for acting against their general, who was Protector still of the name of the Commonwealth. But they were swayed and hurried on by some old comrades, such as Major Wildman and

Colonel Sexby, men who had risen altogether from the ranks, who were passionate enemies of Cromwell, uncompromising inheritors of Lilburne's hostility and fanaticism, and who lived in intimate and permanent conspiracy with the adherents of Charles Stuart: either because, from hatred to the Protector, they were resigned to accept the old King, or because they hoped easily to set him aside and establish the republic, when they had overthrown the Protector.[1]

Left sole master of the field, and free from all restraint in the government, amid such a host of enemies, Cromwell placed himself at once in readiness for the struggle, and extended the range of his power to its utmost limit. He issued an ordinance for the levying of the various taxes, including the sixty thousand pounds a month which the Parliament had assigned for the payment of the army and fleet, though it had come to no final vote on the subject. As soon as the rumour of a royalist conspiracy began to spread, the Protector summoned the Lord Mayor and all the municipal authorities of the city of London to attend him, communicated to them the information which he had obtained, and enjoined them to maintain order with the strictest severity, giving them power to raise a body of troops, of which Major-General Skippon was to have the command. He revived the laws which enacted judicial prosecutions and banishment

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 33—35, 41—44, 129—134; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 265; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 217—221; Cromwelliana, p. 149; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 47, 55, 185, 217; Whitelocke, pp. 606, 618.

against all Jesuits, Catholic priests, and Popish recusants. He published a proclamation commanding all known royalists to leave London, Westminster, and the suburbs, within six days; horse-races and all popular meetings were prohibited for six months. The measures taken against suspected republicans were of a different character; for some time, they had been under the surveillance of a vigilant police: but no steps had been publicly taken against them; some had been warned, some directed to change their residence, some deprived of their employments, and some quietly arrested. Orders had been sent to Fleetwood, in Ireland, that "whereas Major-General Ludlow has declared himself dissatisfied with the present government, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood is hereby required to take care that his charge in the army be managed some other way, and to send him prisoner to England, if necessary." Thurloe, and Cromwell himself, maintained a constant correspondence with Monk, in Scotland, regarding the disaffected officers in the army under his command, and Monk faithfully devoted his silent but effectual vigilance to the service of the Protector. He was informed that Overton, who commanded at Aberdeen, was the centre of a network of combined royalist and republican intrigues, the object of which, it was said, was to surprise Dalkeith, where Monk resided, to seize his person, and to march immediately towards the north of England, where an insurrection was to break out under the direction of Bradshaw and Haslerig. The conspirators expected they would be able to dispose of

about two thousand cavalry and several regiments of infantry. They were in communication also with the fleet, and particularly with Vice-Admiral Lawson. It was even affirmed that Fairfax, then quietly residing at his seat at Nun Appleton, was favourable to their plan, and would bestir himself in Yorkshire on their behalf, when they arrived in that county. Cromwell, in London, and Monk, at Dalkeith, followed the development of this conspiracy step by step, for the plot was betrayed on every hand Monk sent orders to Overton to come to him; Overton hesitated to obey; Monk at once superseded him in his command, assigned him Leith as a residence, and shortly afterwards (on the 10th of January, 1655,) had him arrested, and sent him to London, where he was confined in the Tower. Among his papers, proofs were found of his dealings with the Cavaliers, and some lines against the Protector, written in his own hand:—

> "A Protector! what's that? 'Tis a stately thing,
> That confesseth itself but the ape of a king . . . .
> A counterfeit piece, that woodenly shows
> A golden effigy, with a copper nose . . . .
> In fine, he is one, we may Protector call,
> From whom the King of Kings protect us all!" [1]

Overton had been confined in the Tower for about three weeks, when Major Wildman, the most violent of the republican conspirators, was sent thither also. He had been arrested on the 10th of February, while dictating a "Declaration of the free and well-

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. pp. 431, 432; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 46, 47, 55, 67, 75, 76, 110, 185, 217, 280; Whitelocke, pp. 618, 625; Cromwelliana, pp. 149—152; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 221.

affected people of England, now in arms against the tyrant Oliver Cromwell." In this manifesto he recapitulated the hopes of liberty, in whose name Cromwell had formerly roused England to revolt, the falsehoods by which he had deceived her, the oppression with which he had afflicted her; and he conjured all honest men, all his old comrades in the army, to join in the insurrection which aimed at delivering their country from so shameful a yoke. In his obscure house in the little town of Exton, Wildman believed himself in perfect safety; the door of his room was open, and he had not yet finished dictating, when a body of soldiers, sent by Cromwell's order, entered suddenly and seized him, his papers, and his arms, which Colonel Butler sent at once to the Protector. Several other leaders of the Anabaptists and Levellers—Harrison, Carew, and Lord Grey of Groby—before they had engaged in any hostile undertaking, were arrested, dispersed, and confined in various prisons, but no prosecution was instituted against them.[1] When he had to deal with men of his old party, Cromwell's aim was to forestal and stifle their plans; to render them powerless, not to make them public victims.

Towards the royalists, he acted very differently. At the same time that, to promote the security of civil interest, and to maintain the conservative character of his government, he endeavoured to obtain the ad-

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 147; Whitelocke, pp. 618—620; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 159—165; Cromwelliana, p. 151; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 42, 43.

herence of the great landowners,—quiet men who were fatigued with the contest,—he allowed the ardent, hot-headed members of the party to involve and compromise themselves as much as they pleased,—watching their intrigues without checking them, exaggerating rather than diminishing their importance, and punishing them severely as soon as he caught them in action. When the Parliament was dissolved, they were in a state of great hopefulness and effervescence; they reckoned confidently on the support of their republican allies in the army, on the irritation likely to be produced by the violent measures of the Protector, on a promised rising in the Highlands of Scotland, and on the weakness and irresolution of Fleetwood's government in Ireland. A great insurrection was planned; it was to break out simultaneously in the western and northern counties, where the principal strength of the party lay. The leaders sent message after message to Cologne, beseeching the King to give them authority to act, and to hold himself in readiness at no great distance, for they would soon be in a position to execute their design. They had already fixed on the 14th of February as the day on which the insurrection was to break out; the King would easily land in Kent, which would rise to a man on his behalf, and where Dover Castle would be in their hands; and they would at last revenge their cruel defeat at Worcester.[1]

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 129—134; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 218; Cromwelliana, p. 149; Clarendon's State Papers vol. iii. pp. 265—269.

Charles had little faith in these assurances, and little inclination to trust himself again to so much uncertainty and risk; his wisest counsellors, Hyde and Ormond in particular, shared his doubts; but how could he persistently refuse to risk somewhat with those who were ready to risk all for his sake? Among the refugees by whom he was surrounded, the greater number, from imprudence or ennui, urged him to accede to such pressing solicitations: his most intimate favourite, Lord Wilmot, whom he had recently created Earl of Rochester, begged leave to go to England to form an idea of the preparations, resources, and chances of their friends on the spot. Wilmot was a clever and pleasant companion, and no one could know as yet that, after having shown such impatience to make the attempt, he would not be firm when the moment for action arrived. From concession rather than from conviction, Charles gave him leave to go to London, to approve in his name of the projected insurrection, and to promise his presence as soon as it was required; and secretly leaving Cologne, Charles himself proceeded to Middleburg, in the island of Walcheren, on the coast of Zealand, there to wait, in the house of a trusty host, until Wilmot should invite him to cross the sea.[1]

But secresy is difficult to Kings, even when dethroned, and no man was more skilful than Cromwell in setting spies upon his enemies. A Cavalier named

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 135—137; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 265—269; Heath's Chronicle, pp. 677, 678; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 182, 207.

Manning, who resided with the Court at Cologne and was on intimate terms with Rochester, kept the Protector informed of all that was going on about the King: Rochester himself was indiscreet and boastful, and, as he travelled through the Netherlands on his way to embark at Dunkirk, he made no secret of the object of his journey to England. The States of the province of Holland, learning the intentions of Charles, and fearing that he might make their territory his point of departure, wrote to his sister, the Princess of Orange, that, on account of their recent treaty with the Commonwealth of England, they would be unable to allow anything of the kind. Revelations and information reached Cromwell from every side; and before the royalist insurrection had broken out, he was acquainted with its plan, its means of success, the hopes of its promoters, and even the hiding-places of its leaders.[1]

Whether from accident or design, he took no effectual means to prevent it. As soon as it began to be rumoured abroad, he ordered the arrest of a large number of royalists, but not of those who were actually preparing for the speedy execution of the plot. Rochester spent several days in London, concerting measures with the Cavaliers who had come thither to meet him, discussing their plans, sending messengers into the counties, and transmitting to the King, at his asylum

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 134, 149; Heath's Chronicle, pp. 678, 680; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 266; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 190, 195, 224, 301, 339, 390, 457, 591; Bates's Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum, vol. ii. p. 326.

at Middleburg, such hopeful assurances that he only awaited a last signal in order to embark. The measures which Cromwell was taking could not fail to redouble the confidence of the royalists, for he appeared anxious, and had sent to Ireland for reinforcements of troops, but he had found them so disaffected that, before they left Dublin, the Council of War had been obliged to break one company and to hang a soldier, in order to intimidate those who refused to embark.[1]

On the 11th of March, 1655, at five o'clock in the morning, a troop of Cavaliers suddenly entered the town of Salisbury, where the county assizes were at that time being held, under the presidency of Chief Justice Rolle. They were about two hundred in number, mostly gentlemen of Wiltshire, under the command of Sir Joseph Wagstaff, a brave and dashing officer, who had formerly been a Major-General of infantry in the royal army, and had recently arrived from London to place himself at the head of the insurgents in the West. They posted themselves in the market-place, and immediately brought thither the Chief Justice, his colleague Justice Nicholas, and the High Sheriff of the county, who had been seized in their beds. Wagstaff ordered the sheriff to proclaim King Charles the Second; but he boldly refused. Wagstaff proposed that the sheriff and the two judges should be hanged on the spot: "We must use them,"

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 137, 138; Heath's Chronicle, p. 678; Bates's Elenchus, pp. 322—325; Cromwelliana, p. 150; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 161, 162, 164, 172, 179, 190, 273; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 217, 218.

he said, "how we ourselves should be used, if we were under their hands." But his companions, and especially Colonel John Penruddock, a gentleman of large estate in the neighbourhood, strenuously opposed any such proceeding, as they were determined to commit neither violence nor disorder at a time when they came to restore the violated laws of the country. The judges were set at liberty, and requested to remember to whom they were indebted for their lives. The sheriff was detained as a hostage, and the King proclaimed without his assistance. The insurgents threw open the doors of the prison, and took all the horses in the town, but, in every other particular, they respected the tranquillity and property of the inhabitants. No resistance was offered to them, but scarcely any one joined them; most persons thought them too weak to declare in their favour. They expected that reinforcements from the neighbouring counties would have met them at Salisbury; but finding that they gained no additions to their numbers, they left the place on the same day, in the hope of meeting with better success elsewhere. At Blandford, in Dorsetshire, the town-crier, when brought to the market-place, seemed not unwilling to proclaim the King; but when Penruddock, who was dictating the proclamation, required him to pronounce the words, "Charles II. King of England," the man became terrified, and declared that he would not utter those words even if he should be burnt alive for refusing. In the opinion of the people, the royal cause was a lost cause, which entailed destruction on all who em-

braced it. The insurgents made no progress; from republican fanaticism, fear, ignorance, or love of order, the populace stood aloof from them. Three or four hundred Cavaliers from Hampshire, who had begun their march to rendezvous at Salisbury, paused when they heard that Wagstaff had left that city, and dispersed instead of going to join him elsewhere. Colonel Butler, who was quartered in that district, sent out four companies of infantry with orders to pursue the insurgents and attack them if a favourable opportunity should present itself. Major-General Desborough arrived from London with troops. Discouragement hourly thinned the already scanty ranks of the Cavaliers. On the 14th of March, at South Molton, in Devonshire, they were met and instantly attacked by Captain Hutton Crooke. They defended themselves valiantly, but in vain; Penruddock and about fifty of his companions were taken; Sir Joseph Wagstaff and a few others succeeded in reaching the sea-coast, and embarking for France. The insurgents, after having wandered about for four days like a band of fugitives, were all captured or dispersed; and the insurrection in the western counties was crushed in a single engagement.[1]

In the northern counties, the rebellion was even more short-lived and futile; there Rochester had resolved to act in person; and on his arrival, several

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 139—145; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 246—248, 259, 262, 263; Cromwelliana, p. 152; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 218—219; Heath's Chronicle, pp. 678—680; Bates's Elenchus Motuum, part ii. pp. 322—325.

influential gentlemen, Sir Henry Slingsby, Sir Richard Maleverer, and others, took up arms, and brought their friends to join him. But he found them less numerous and less well-provided than, he said, he had been led to expect; he vented his ill humour in complaints, questions, and objections which, though reasonable, came too late, and which certainly ought to have prevented him from entering upon an enterprise in which he now refused to proceed. After some few unsatisfactory meetings, and before he was aware of the sad issue of the movements in the west, Rochester set out once more for London, leaving the Cavaliers of the north in equal humiliation and irritation at having compromised themselves in reliance upon his mission and name. He was arrested at Aylesbury by a suspicious justice of the peace, but he succeeded in escaping and in making his way to London, where he remained concealed for a few days, and sent news to the King that the whole enterprise had failed. Charles, in no way surprised at this intelligence, left Middleburg and returned quietly to Cologne, where Rochester speedily rejoined him; and the little exiled Court consoled itself by imputing the ill-success of the undertaking to the spy Manning, whose treachery was discovered, and whom Charles, with the permission of Duke Philip William of Neuburg, ordered to be shot in the dominions of that prince.[1]

Almost at the same moment, the blood of Pen-

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 145—160; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. pp. 462—468; Slingsby's Diary, pp. xi.—xiii.; Bates's Elenchus Motuum, part ii. p. 323; Whitelocke, p. 633.

ruddock and his companions, the most distinguished among the western insurgents, flowed on the scaffold at Exeter and Salisbury.[1] Cromwell, in the first instance, ordered the prisoners to be brought to London, and interrogated them himself, in order that he might be able to form a correct impression of the character of the insurrection, and thus be better qualified to exaggerate its importance. He then sent them back to the west, that they might be tried and executed on the scene of their rebellion. He was not afraid, in this instance, to trust their sentence to a jury: the movement had not met with popular favour, and Cromwell was quite sure of the sheriffs who would have to nominate the jurymen. Penruddock and his friends died without any manifestation of weakness, but without enthusiasm, like courageous but disheartened men, who would have been glad to have saved their lives, but who valued their honour far more than life, and were able to meet death with dignity and firmness. Cromwell did not multiply trials and executions; he ordered the arrest of a large number of royalists, detained the most important of them for some time in prison, and shipped the remainder for the West Indies, where they were sold as slaves. Seventy were purchased by the planters of Barbadoes. The Long Parliament, after the battle of Worcester, had established a precedent for this barbarous conduct.[2]

[1] The trial lasted from the 19th to the 23rd of April, and the execution took place on the 16th of May, 1655.

[2] State Trials, vol. v. cols. 767—790; Whitelocke, p. 621; Cromwelliana, pp. 149—153; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii.

The victory was as complete as it had been easy. Cromwell magnified it, as well as the danger, to the utmost possible extent; for he needed some such excuse to justify his recent dissolution of the Parliament, to which he had ascribed this recurrence of civil discord; and to screen the rigorous measures which he saw it would be necessary for him to adopt in future. It is one of the vices of absolute power that, in order to maintain itself in existence, it is obliged to foster and aggravate in society the dread of those evils which it has undertaken to remedy. Of all great despots, Cromwell is perhaps the one who made least use of this falsehood, for his despotism was of short duration and had its origin in natural and real causes; and he himself attempted, more than once, to transform it into a constitutional government. But even he occasionally made a deceptive use of seditions and conspiracies; and in 1655 particularly, he derived, from their feeble and fleeting appearance, far more strength for his sway than was warranted by the danger to which they had exposed him.

Though delivered for a time from plots, he encountered another kind of obstacle, certainly more inconvenient, if not more formidable; he had to overcome attempts at legal resistance. A merchant in the city, named Cony, who had long been on intimate terms with Cromwell, refused the payment of certain custom duties, which, he said, had been

p. 144; Bates's Elenchus Motuum, part ii. p. 453; Burton's Diary, vol. iv. pp. 256, 258, 259, 262, 271, 272.

illegally levied: as they had been imposed in virtue of an ordinance of the Protector which had not received the sanction of Parliament. This was on the 4th of November, 1654; on the 6th, Cony was summoned before the Commissioners of Customs; and on the 16th he was condemned to pay a fine of five hundred pounds. On his refusing to pay either the fine or the duties, Cromwell sent for him, "reminded him of the old kindness and friendship that had been between them, and said that, of all men, he did not expect this opposition from him, in a matter that was so necessary for the good of the Commonwealth." Cony, in his turn, reminded the Protector of their old principles, and recalled to his memory his own expression in the Long Parliament—"that the subject who submits to an illegal impost is more the enemy of his country than the tyrant who imposes it." Cromwell grew angry, and said, "I have a will as stubborn as yours is, and we will try which of the two will be master:" and Cony was sent to prison on the 12th of December. He claimed his writ of habeas corpus from the Court of Upper Bench; and retained three of the most eminent lawyers at the bar—Maynard, Twisden, and Wadham Windham—to plead his cause. They did so, and Maynard in particular is said to have argued the case with such vigour that Cromwell took the alarm; the argument tended to nothing less than the absolute denial of the legality of his authority, and if Cony had been acquitted, every Englishman might, in virtue of the same principles, refuse to pay any taxes at all. On the day after the

pleading,[1] Maynard and his two colleagues were sent to the Tower, on the charge of having held language destructive to the existing government. This was an extreme measure, but it proved insufficient; Cony did not give up his point; he appeared before the Court, unsupported by Counsel, and defended himself so ably that Chief Justice Rolle, feeling embarrassed at his position, and not knowing how to cover the dishonour of the sentence which he was expected to pronounce, deferred judgment and adjourned the case until the next term, leaving Cromwell in anxious suspense, and Cony in prison.[2]

This was not the first mark of scrupulosity and independence which Rolle had exhibited in his conduct towards the Protector. When called upon, a month previously, to preside at the Exeter assizes, where Penruddock and the other western insurgents were to be tried, he had refused on the ground that, after the treatment he had received from the prisoners at Salisbury, any sentence he might pronounce would be subject to suspicion. Such delicacy was not to Cromwell's taste; Rolle was removed from the Court of Upper Bench on the 7th of June, 1655, and Glynn, who had given proof of greater complaisance, was appointed in his stead. It was still more urgent to bring Cony's case to a conclusion, for his example was becoming contagious; and Sir Peter Wentworth, in

[1] On the 17th of May, 1655.

[2] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 223; Heath's Chronicle, p. 691; Life of Oliver Cromwell (London, 1743), pp. 317—319; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 294—296; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 175—181.

his county, had already refused to pay the taxes, and had brought actions against the collectors. In this case, no dismissal was possible. By other means, which have remained secret, Cony was prevailed upon to take no further proceedings; and the three counsel were discharged from the Tower on their submission. Cromwell sent for the judges, and blamed them for having allowed the bar such license. They submitted that the law and Magna Charta permitted it. "Your Magna Charta," said Cromwell, with a vulgar oath, "shall not control my actions, which I know are for the safety of the Commonwealth. Who made you judges? Have you any authority to sit there but what I gave you? If my authority were at an end, you know well enough what would become of yourselves, and therefore I advise you to be more tender of that which alone can preserve you, and not suffer the lawyers to prate what it does not become you to hear."[1] Sir Peter Wentworth, when summoned before the Council, at first defended what he had done, saying that "by the law of England, no money ought to be levied upon the people without their consent in Parliament." Cromwell asked him abruptly: "Will you withdraw your action, or not?" "If you will command it," said Wentworth, "I must submit." Cromwell immediately gave the order, and the action was abandoned.[2] Legal resistance thus seemed, like conspiracy, to have been conquered without any great effort.

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 296.

[2] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 224.

But it had taken too deep root in the traditions and manners of the nation, to be so easily extirpated. It is one of the chief glories of the magistrature, in stormy times, to furnish liberty and order with their last and boldest defenders. When, after the condemnation of the western insurgents, it became necessary to proceed to the trial of those in the north, two of the chief justices, Thorpe and Newdigate, refused to do so, and were accordingly superseded. The most illustrious of them all, Sir Matthew Hale, had already set an example of resistance on several occasions: he had declined to attend the assizes at which Penruddock was tried, on the ground that his private affairs required his attention; "and if he had been urged," says Burnet, "he would not have been afraid of speaking more clearly." On another occasion, learning that a jury had been selected in obedience to special orders from Cromwell, Hale rejected that list, and required the sheriff to prepare another. When he next saw him, Cromwell was very angry, and told him: "You are not fit to be a judge." "That is very true," said Hale, quietly. Yet Cromwell did not dismiss him. He had with great difficulty persuaded Hale to sit as a judge in the Court of Upper Bench, under his government, and he thought the services of such a man did him honour. Scrupulous magistrates, however, were not the only persons who refused to serve the Protector with unquestioning obedience; some even of his habitual counsellors, from *esprit de corps*, or from prudence, occasionally ventured to oppose him. In April, 1655, he attempted to put in

force the ordinance which he had issued, in August, 1654, for the reform of the Court of Chancery, and the execution of which had been suspended by the late Parliament. Two of the Commissioners of the great seal, Whitelocke and Widdrington, refused to concur in this proceeding, justifying their resistance by reasons which implicitly denied the right of the Protector thus to change the laws by his sole authority. Cromwell at first was patient, and allowed his two opponents time to reflect on their refusal; but when he found that they persisted, he dismissed them from their office, and placed the great seal in other hands. But he did not believe in the resistance offered by either Whitelocke or Widdrington, and was unwilling altogether to lose their services: a few days afterwards he appointed them both Commissioners of the Treasury, with a salary equal to that which they had received as Commissioners of the Great Seal; an act of disdainful conciliation which Whitelocke, in his Memorials, attributes to "the Protector being good-natured, and sensible of his harsh proceedings against me and Widdrington, for keeping to that liberty of conscience which himself held to be every one's right."[1]

If Cromwell had only had to overcome such insurrections as that headed by Rochester, and such resistance as that offered by Whitelocke, his task would

[1] Whitelocke, pp. 621—627; Biographia Britannica, vol. iv. p. 2477; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 219; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 359, 360, 385; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 179—183; Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, vol. i. p. 434.

have been an easy one; but, in the midst of his success, he had to face two of the greatest difficulties that can beset any Government—an inadequate public revenue, and an army on which he could not firmly rely. Notwithstanding the assurance of his language in dissolving the last Parliament, he did not venture, on his own authority alone, to impose altogether new taxes on the country generally; it was enough to perpetuate, by that authority, those which already existed. And although the army, as a whole, was submissive and faithful to him, he was not ignorant that the Anabaptists, Fifth-monarchy men, and malcontent republicans were numerous and active in its ranks. He stood in absolute need of more money and other soldiers; what he already possessed did not satisfy the necessities of his power.

To supply this deficiency, he had recourse to an act of revolutionary tyranny and iniquity; and the difficulty of his position was such that his genius could discover no better expedient.

Under the pretext of maintaining the public peace and repressing royalist plots, he resolved to establish in every county a local militia, composed of men whom he determined to select himself, and to pay well. In order to pay them, he proposed to levy a tax of a tenth part of their revenue on the royalists alone; and he anticipated that the proceeds of this tax would amount to a much greater sum than the militia would be likely to cost. For the effectual organization of this militia and collection of this tax, he proposed to divide England and Wales into twelve districts, the govern-

ment of which was to be entrusted to twelve of his most reliable and devoted officers, who, under the name of Major-Generals, were to exercise all political and administrative powers, and, to a certain point, all judicial authority, in their respective districts, and from whose decisions there was to be no appeal, but to the Protector himself and his Council. Thus revolutionary tyranny and military despotism were combined for the purpose of treating royalist England as a vanquished and subject nation.

Always governed by prudence, even in his deeds of violence, Cromwell instituted this measure by a partial and almost unperceived experiment. On the 28th of May, 1655, a short time after the insurrection in the west, he appointed his brother-in-law Desborough major-general of the militia levied, and to be levied, in the six counties in the south-west of England. Two months later, on the 2nd of August, Desborough took the direct command of the twelve squadrons of newly-enrolled militia in those counties; and on the following day, the question of the establishment of a general militia was discussed in the Council. It was finally settled the following week by the division of the whole country first into ten, then into twelve districts, the command of the new troops in which was entrusted to the following twelve major-generals: Fleetwood (who had just returned from his government of Ireland), Desborough, Lambert, Whalley, Goffe, Skippon, Berry, Kelsey, Butler, Worsley, Barkstead, and Dawkins.[1]

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 486, vol. iv. p. 117; Old Parlia-

Whilst the military measure was thus in process of accomplishment, Cromwell had begun to carry out the revolutionary measure. In the course of the month of June, 1655, although the insurrections in the west and north had been suppressed and punished, he ordered the arrest of a large number of the most influential royalists, including the Earls of Newport, Lindsey, Northampton, Rivers, and Peterborough, the Marquis of Hertford, Viscount Falkland, the Lords Willoughby of Parham, St. John, Petre, Coventry, Maynard, Lucas, and more than fifty other Cavaliers of honoured name and character. For this severe treatment, he assigned no particular offence which could have exposed them to justice, but merely a general danger to the Commonwealth from which the Protector was bound, at any cost, to preserve it. At the same time he issued fresh orders that all who had served the late King or his sons should at once leave London; despatched the major-generals to their posts; and on the 31st of October, he officially announced and justified his whole design in a long and careful manifesto.[1]

It was an act of political excommunication against the entire royalist party: treating some as permanent and incorrigible conspirators, and punishing others on account of their incurable hostility and secret con-

mentary History, vol. xx. p. 433; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 226—230.

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. pp. 434–460; Perfect Proceedings, June 13—21, July 5; Mercurius Politicus, June 14, 21, 28; Perfect Diurnal, July 6; Public Intelligencer, October 8; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 223—224.

nivance with the conspirators. As they had sincerely accepted neither their own defeat, nor the new government, nor the amnesty which had been granted them; and as they incessantly threatened the state with new dangers, it was just that they should pay the cost of the necessary means for its defence. They were all deprived of the protection of the common law, and subjected to an annual decimation of their revenue. Those only whose landed property produced less than 100*l.* yearly, or whose personal estate was under 1500*l.* in value, were exempted from the payment of this tax.

The instructions given at the same time to the major-generals enjoined them to make known the Protector's manifesto throughout the country, to obtain the co-operation of trusty commissioners in every county, and to proceed immediately, with their assistance, to a valuation of the incomes of the royalists, and to the collection of the tax. They were moreover invested with the most extensive authority over persons; they might disarm or arrest them, require bail from them, not only for themselves, but for their children and servants, and compel them to appear from time to time, before an agent appointed for that purpose. A general register of the persons thus under surveillance in every county was to be kept in London, and none of them were allowed to visit the capital without sending information to the registrar's office of their arrival, their place of abode, and all their movements. It was a special legislation against a party and class of citizens—not sanguinary in its

nature, purely of fiscal and police arrangement, but altogether arbitrary, and accompanied by all the accessory measures which could secure its efficient operation.[1]

Among these measures may be mentioned, in the first place, most vigorous precautions against the licence of the press; the number of weekly newspapers published in London had been twelve in 1653, but since the establishment of the Protectorate, it had been reduced to eight, and of those, only two manifested any shade of opposition. An order of Council, dated September 5, 1655, prohibited the future publication of any paper without the special and continued sanction of the Secretary of State; and two weekly sheets, both of which were edited by Marchamont Needham,—a writer who had been originally a royalist, but whom Milton had gained over to the service of the Commonwealth and of Cromwell,—alone survived this prohibition.[2]

The execution of this plan, as might have been expected, greatly aggravated its natural and premeditated consequences; from military obedience, party passion, or rival zeal, the major-generals vied with one another in using and abusing the almost unlimited powers with which they were invested; they multiplied domiciliary visits, arrests, and annoyances of every kind, making it their chief object to discover the enemies of the Protector, and to increase the amount produced by the tax; and their vanity was

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. pp. 461—467.

[2] Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. p. 225.

gratified sometimes by the zeal, and sometimes by the fear, which they inspired. "Colonel Birch, who is a prisoner here," wrote Major-General Berry to Secretary Thurloe, on the 24th of November, 1655, "hath applied himself to me as to a little king that could redress every grievance;" and a few weeks later, on the 5th of January, 1656, he wrote: "We have imprisoned here divers lewd fellows, some for having a hand in the plot, others of dissolute life, as persons dangerous to the peace of the nation; amongst others those Papists who went a hunting when they were sent for by Major Waring; they are desperate persons, and divers of them fit to grind sugar-cane or plant tobacco; and if some of them were sent into the Indies it would do much good." On the 28th of January, Major-General Worsley wrote: "We are fetching in one Sir Charles Egerton, that was a member in the beginning of the Long Parliament, and left it and went to the King's forces; we doubt not of proof to make him a delinquent. We are resolved to find out all such persons as soon as can be." And it was not against the Cavaliers only that this vigilant police were set at work, although, according to the manifesto, they alone were the object as they were the cause of the measure; the major-generals also persecuted, under the same pretext, those republicans and sectaries who were hostile to the Protector. "I find," wrote Worsley to Thurloe, on the 9th of November, 1655, "that Major Wildman hath a great estate in this county, bought and compounded for in his name. I beg a word of that from you by way of direction.

If I hear not from you, I intend to sequester all that belongs to him;" and he did so; for, on the 24th of December, he wrote to Cromwell himself: "We have seized and secured to your Highness's use, a considerable estate belonging to John Wildman, and we hope to find some more." There are few letters, in this voluminous correspondence, in which mention is not made of some persons having been sought out, harassed, arrested, or imprisoned, for no other reason than that their opinions were suspected, or their fortune guessed at, or their declarations as to the value of their property considered incorrect. The most vulgar personal interest sometimes had a great deal to do with the zeal of the major-generals, and some of them exhibited it with coarse bluntness. "I have only one public business of great importance," wrote Major-General Berry to the Protector, on the 1st of December, 1655, "that I make bold to trouble your Highness withal; and that is, that your Highness would please to make good your word to Captain Crooke; but it must be whilst you live, or otherwise we shall fear it will never be done. You know what plotting there is against your person; and if any of them should take, what will become of our preferments?"[1]

From the mass of the population, the major-generals did not all meet with the same favourable reception; some of them wrote to complain of the difficulties and repulses which they had encountered in their endeavours to obtain the services of commissioners, willing and

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. pp. 237, 394, 473, 179, 340, 274.

able to work with them in establishing and levying the tax; others had no difficulty in finding commissioners, but they subsequently proved apathetic, inactive, or faint-hearted. Most, however, express their satisfaction at the zeal with which they were received and seconded. "Our commissioners," wrote Major-General Haynes to Thurloe, on the 8th of November, 1655, "seem exceeding real and forward in putting their instructions in execution. I did not expect it would have had so good an acceptance with them." "The business of taxing the Cavalier party," wrote Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, on the 17th of December, "is of wonderful acceptation to all the Parliament party; all men of all opinions join heartily therein." In several counties the commissioners even went so far as to regret the restriction of the tax to those royalists whose landed revenues exceeded one hundred pounds a year, and they urged the major-generals to advise the Protector to lower this minimum, on the ground that the tax would then become far more productive, and that there were as many royalists with a less as there were with a greater, annual income than one hundred pounds. Party jealousies and hatred were much more powerful in the counties than in London; Cromwell's chief power lay among the small tradesmen and the populace; and persons of inferior condition, even when they feel no strong aversion for the higher classes, are always ready to revel in the enjoyment of authority, as of a rare and fleeting pleasure. [1]

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. pp. 171, 321, 149, 179, 215, 216, 224, 225, 227, 235, 308.

The Cavaliers submitted unresistingly; it would even seem that they entertained no idea of resistance, so certain were they that it would be in vain; the most perverse paid no attention to the notices of the commissioners, and allowed themselves to be taxed in silence, saving their honour by refusing to appear, and the rest of their property by passive submission. Even among the great royalist nobles, some few, from pusillanimity, or personal animosity resulting from old political differences, did more than yield the necessary submission. "The Earl of Northumberland," wrote Major-General Goffe to Thurloe, on the 25th of November, 1655, "commends his Highness's declaration much; it seems the Marquis of Hertford broke off a treaty of marriage with him, when it was almost finished, on the score of his having been for the Parliament; which the Earl took very ill." The Earl of Southampton made himself conspicuous by his high-spirited conduct. "He was very stout," wrote Major-General Kelsey to Thurloe, on the 23rd of November, "and would give us no particular of his estate; whereupon we did confine him for disobeying our orders. At last he complied; but afterwards I demanded security, according to my instructions, which he peremptorily refused, whereupon I have secured him; only his mother lying very ill, and himself not well, I let him go to his own house, which is within three miles of this place."[1]

As a financial expedient, the measure succeeded; it was executed promptly and effectually; it met with

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. pp. 229, 234, 162, 208.

almost no obstacle, and it supplied the Protector with considerable sums. As a political act it was the ruin of his high glory and of his great future; he had assumed possession of power in the name of the restoration of order and peace, and he had nobly commenced their real restoration; by the imposition of a tax on the royalists alone, and by the appointment of the major-generals, he tyrannically involved his power in a course of revolutionary violence, and set parties once more at variance, not by civil war, but by measures of oppression. He appealed to necessity, and doubtless believed himself reduced by circumstances to act as he did: if he was right, his was one of those necessities inflicted by the justice of God, which reveal the innate viciousness of a government, and are the inevitable sentence of its condemnation.

From this day forth, he had himself a secret and vexatious consciousness of his position. On bad terms with both royalists and republicans, at once a revolutionist and a conservative, making war and paying court to the higher classes at the same time, he groaned under the weight of these incessant contradictions in his position, maxims, and conduct; and he sought on every side for just and useful ideas that he might turn to account, and influential interests that he might satisfy, in order to make them points of support, and by their means to supply the absence of fixed ideas and firm friendship. Liberty of conscience was, in this respect, his noblest and best resource. He was very far, as may have been seen already, from admitting it as a general principle, or

to its full extent; the Catholics and Episcopalians, who probably constituted the great majority of the population of England at that period, were absolutely excluded from participation in it; and this exclusion was not merely proclaimed as a maxim of State policy, but it was rigorously put in practice. In June 1654, a poor Catholic priest, named Southwold, who, thirty-seven years before, had been condemned and exiled for his religion, ventured to return to England, and was arrested in his bed by Major-General Worsley, who sent him to London, where he was tried, condemned and hanged. "We had a martyrdom here yesterday," wrote M. de Bordeaux, on the 29th of June, to the Count de Charost, governor of Calais; "a priest was executed, notwithstanding my interposition, and that of other ambassadors, to obtain his pardon: he was accompanied to the scaffold by two hundred carriages, and by a great number of persons on horseback, who all admired his constancy." Cromwell did not seek occasions for such acts of severity; he was always glad when the victims, by a show of submission, enabled him to dispense with punishment; but when their earnest faith or energetic character led them to refuse such compliance, he unhesitatingly allowed free course to the cruelty of the law. Towards the clergy of the Anglican Church, he acted with a little more latitude; neither the laws, nor party animosities imposed on him any such sanguinary persecution of them, and he was led by his own inclinations to treat them without harshness, for the political maxims and strong discipline of their

church were very much to his taste. Nevertheless, in obedience to revolutionary traditions, in order to please the Presbyterians and to have benefices to bestow on his partizans, he harassed the Episcopalians, wherever they were found, deprived them of their livings, and forbade all public exercise of their worship. He even went so far as to prohibit, by an ordinance of the 24th of November, 1655, their reception into private families as chaplains or tutors, as had frequently been the case until then. This was to deprive a large number of the unbeneficed clergy of their last refuge against misery, and to deny parents all liberty in even the domestic education of their children. Against so violent a persecution, many urgent protests were made: the learned and illustrious Usher, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, whom Cromwell regarded with much favour, became the representative of his brethren, and with some difficulty obtained from the Protector a promise that this odious interdiction should be repealed. But the promise was not kept; Usher returned to Whitehall, and found Cromwell in the hands of a surgeon, who was dressing a large boil on his breast. The Protector ordered that the Archbishop should be admitted, and begged him to sit down and wait a moment, adding, "if this core (pointing to the boil) were once out, I should be well." "I doubt," said Usher, "the core lies deeper; there is a core at the heart that must be taken out, or else it will not be well." "Ah!" replied Cromwell, with a sigh; "so there is indeed." But when the Archbishop began to speak to

him of the object of his visit, Cromwell interrupted him by saying that he had thought better of it, that he had debated the matter with his Council, and that all were of opinion that it would not be safe for him to grant liberty of conscience to men who had proved themselves the implacable enemies of his person and government. Cromwell was neither so apprehensive nor so hard-hearted as he wished to appear; his declaration against engaging clergymen of the Anglican Church as chaplains and tutors remained almost inoperative; but he had ventured neither to refuse the bait to the fanaticism of his party, nor to revoke it publicly in the name of that liberty of conscience, which he made it his boast to support.[1]

When neither Catholics nor Episcopalians were in question, when the quarrel lay between the various sects which had all taken part in the revolution, Cromwell was more bold in his adherence to his own maxims; he effectually protected the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Millenarians, and sectaries of every kind against one another; reminding them that it was not long since they had all been persecuted together; and that they mutually owed one another charity and support. And when he was compelled, in order to put an end to political disorders, or revolting scandals, to repress the excesses of fren-

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 406; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 592; Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, p. 194; Life of Jeremy Taylor, p. 81; Pell's Life of Dr. Hammond, in Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. v. pp. 373, 374; Life of Archbishop Usher, p. 75; Biographia Britannica, vol. v. p. 4078.

zied or licentious mysticism, he still acted with great gentleness towards the leaders of the misguided sectaries, and was always careful to remain on sufficiently intimate terms with them, to induce them to believe that they were his friends, or that they were under obligation to him. Towards the end of the year 1655, the Quakers, and their leader George Fox in particular, had occasioned serious disturbances in several counties. "Fox and two more eminent northern Quakers," wrote Major-General Goffe to Thurloe, on the 10th of January, 1656, "are now in this country, doing much work for the devil, and delude many simple souls; and at the same time, there are base books against the Lord Protector dispersed among the churches. I have some thoughts to lay Fox and his companions by the heels, if I see a good opportunity." George Fox came to London, and made his way into Whitehall. Cromwell received him while dressing; and the valet who was in attendance, one Harvey, "had been a little among Friends," and served to introduce Fox. "I had much discourse with the Protector," Fox relates; "explaining what I and Friends had been led to think concerning Christ and His apostles of old time, and His priests and ministers of new. I exhorted him to keep in the fear of God, whereby he might receive wisdom from God, which would be a useful guidance for any sovereign person. To all which, the Protector carried himself with much moderation; as I spake, he several times said, 'That is very good,' and, 'That is true.' Other persons coming in, persons of quality so called, I was for

retiring. He caught me by the hand, and with moist-beaming eyes, said: 'Come again to my house! If thou and I were but an hour of the day together, we should be nearer one to the other. I wish no more harm to thee than to my own soul;'" and he sent Fox away much satisfied, contenting himself with a written promise which the Quaker gave him, to do nothing against his government. It is difficult to estimate how much true emotion there may have been in this language: the poet Waller, a sceptic libertine, who was related to Cromwell, and lived on very familiar terms with him, states that he was occasionally present at Whitehall, when the Protector granted audiences to these pious enthusiasts, and that, after he had affectionately taken leave of them, Cromwell would turn to him and say: "Cousin Waller, I must talk to these men after their own way;" and would then resume their previous conversation. However this may be, by this personal affability, and these sympathetic outpourings, Cromwell bound the sectaries to him; and, even while keeping them under strong control, he always retained their confidence and support.[1] He also determined to secure to himself the good will and cordial co-operation of a class of men very unpopular and very much despised,—the Jews, who, though unable to do him harm, might render him essential service. They had been expelled *en masse* from England, in 1290, by King Edward I., and since that period, they had resided in the country

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 408; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 149, 150; Waller's Life, prefixed to his Poems.

in small numbers, connected by no social ties, and with no recognized legal existence. Since his accession to power, however, Cromwell had maintained frequent relations with the Jews both of England and of the Continent. One day, whilst he was conversing with Lord Broghill, he was informed that an unknown visitor was desirous to speak with him; he gave immediate orders for his admission, and an ill-looking and shabbily-dressed man entered, with whom the Protector talked privately for some time. It was a Jew, who had come to inform him that the Spanish government, with which Cromwell was about to commence hostilities, had embarked a considerable sum of money, destined for Flanders, on board a Dutch merchant-vessel, which would soon pass near the English coast. Cromwell took the hint, and the vessel was seized. The Jews had probably already rendered him useful service on more than one occasion, either by acting as spies, or by supplying his pecuniary necessities. It would even appear that his celebrity, destiny, and character had excited their imaginations to such a degree, that some of them, feeling tempted to recognise him as the Messiah they expected, had secretly gone into Huntingdonshire to obtain precise information regarding his family and descent. In October, 1655, a Jew of Portuguese origin, named Menasseh-ben-Israel, who had been long resident in Holland, and was one of the chief members of the Synagogue at Amsterdam, arrived in England, and published a pamphlet, entitled; "A Humble Address to the Lord Protector in behalf of

the Jewish Nation." In this pamphlet, he formally demanded permission for the Jews to establish themselves in England, to have a synagogue and cemetery in London; to enjoy freedom of trade, and the right of settling their lawsuits among themselves, with an appeal to the ordinary tribunals of the country; and the revocation of the ancient laws which ran counter to these privileges. Neither the idea nor the step were altogether novel and unprecedented: struck by the professions of toleration and religious liberty which resounded in England in the midst of all her civil commotions, Menasseh-ben-Israel, had already petitioned, first the Long Parliament, and then the Barebone Parliament, for a passport, authorizing him to come to London to prosecute his design. But he had not carried his purpose into execution. Another Jew, Manuel Martinez Dormido, had, during the preceding year, presented a petition to Cromwell on the same subject, and Cromwell had referred it to the Council of State, with this endorsement by his secretary: "His Highness is pleased, in an especial manner, to recommend these papers to the speedy consideration of the Council." On the other hand, during the war with Holland, the activity and importance of the Jews had been greatly noticed by the English officers. On the 16th of October, 1654, the three commanders of the fleet had, it is said, urged the Protector to admit that nation into England, for the purpose of diverting their trade thither; and when Menasseh-ben-Israel had publicly stated his demand, Major-General Whalley wrote to Thurloe, on

the 12th of December, 1655: "It seems to me that there are both political and divine reasons which strongly make for the admission of the Jews into a cohabitation and civil commerce with us; doubtless, to say no more, they will bring in much wealth into this Commonwealth, and where we both pray for their conversion, and believe it shall be, I know not why we should deny the means." It is also stated that the Jews promised to place a considerable sum of money, two or three hundred thousand pounds, in Cromwell's hands, if their demands were granted. It was a great act to be performed, in pursuance of a great idea, and probably in furtherance of a great interest. Cromwell engaged zealously in the matter; he summoned at Whitehall a conference of lawyers, city merchants, and theologians, whom he directed to examine the propositions of Menasseh, under his own presidency. The discussion was long and animated; the conference, which consisted of twenty-seven members, met four times. The lawyers were, in general, favourable to the Jews; the merchants were doubtful, and somewhat inclined to oppose their pretensions; the theologians were divided. According to some, the legal admission of the Jews, their social system and form of worship, would be a sin most dangerous and scandalous to Christians; others, with less severity, seemed disposed to tolerate the Jews, under certain restrictive or humiliating conditions. Cromwell spoke in their favour, and, according to the report of one who was present, with much eloquence; but he was able to overcome neither the arguments of the theologians,

nor the jealousies of the merchants, nor the prejudices of the indifferent; and seeing that the conference was not likely to end as he desired, he put an end to its deliberations. Then, without granting the Jews the public establishment which they had solicited, he authorized a certain number of them to take up their residence in London, where they built a synagogue, purchased the land for a burial-ground, and quietly commenced the formation of a sort of corporation, devoted to the Protector, on whose tolerance their safety entirely depended.[1]

At about the same period, Cromwell's lofty and liberal views were displayed, with greater success, in a more national undertaking. Since the commencement, and more particularly since the termination, of the civil war, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge had been sometimes indirectly, and sometimes openly attacked. From their devotion to the cause of the King and Church, they suffered, in 1647 and 1649, a first visitation, which proved more dangerous to individuals than to the institutions themselves: their royalist and episcopalian heads and professors were superseded by Presbyterians; but the internal government of the two establishments was left almost untouched. Under the Commonwealth,

[1] Whitelocke, p. 633; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 652; vol. iv. pp. 308, 321; Bates's Elenchus Motuum, part ii. p. 371; Life of Oliver Cromwell, pp. 320, 321; Banks's Critical Review of the Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 207; Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 126; Cromwelliana, p. 154; Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 779; Ellis's Original Letters, Second Series, vol. iv. pp. 3—7; Harleian Miscellany, vol. vii. p. 617; Burnet's History of His Own Time, vol. i. p. 131.

however, and more especially after the expulsion of the Long Parliament, when the Independents gained the upper hand, the question assumed a far more serious aspect; the attack was directed against the very nature and existence of the universities. These great schools, in which candidates for the Christian ministry were instructed in ancient and profane literature, simultaneously and in common with other young men destined to various worldly professions—these powerful institutions, which existed of themselves, were self-governed by fixed rules, and formed an independent empire of human knowledge and tradition—greatly scandalized the religious principles and democratic passions of the most ardent sectaries: they could not endure that Christian preachers should be educated and trained by such pagan studies—the perusal of Holy Writ, and the inspiration of divine grace, ought to be sufficient to qualify them for their work. Nor could they tolerate these permanent and independent endowments, by aid of which were formed a race of clergy, in their turn endowed and independent; the ministers of religion, they said, ought to be chosen by the believers themselves, and should be constantly at the disposal of their belief and will. Three sectaries, who had long been chaplains in the army, William Dell, William Erbery, and John Webster, placed themselves at the head of this crusade against the two universities: it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which the Barebone Parliament, before its abdication, had adopted their views, or what it had done to second them; this much is,

however, certain, that nothing less was proposed than the sale of all the property belonging to the universities, and their complete abolition. In popular education, the same conflict was evident as in Church and State; individual mysticism and absolute democracy warring with organized tradition and established aristocracy. It was no longer a contest between two rival churches for benefices and pulpits; it was a war against all the old system of national education—a war waged by its mortal enemies, who thirsted to destroy what they termed "camps of Cain, and synagogues of Satan, stews of Antichrist, and houses of lies."[1]

Cromwell, at the age of seventeen, had spent a year at the university of Cambridge; in 1651, he had been elected Chancellor of the university of Oxford. His mind was great, because it was just, perspicacious, and thoroughly practical: at the same time that he appreciated the social utility of these noble schools of learning, he was charmed by their intellectual beauty. He felt that their destruction would be a source of degradation to his country, and of dishonour to himself; and he therefore took them under his protection. In order to defend them against their enemies, he introduced into them several men, who had once been passionate sectaries themselves, but who had become attached to his fortune and submissive to his influence; among others, two of his chaplains, Thomas Goodwin

[1] Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 86—104; Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 705; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 15, 16; Huber's English Universities, vol. ii. pp. 12—16.

and John Owen,[1] both of them men of great talent and ability; and he appointed the latter his Vice-Chancellor at Oxford. From this introduction of heterogeneous elements, the traditions and manners of the university received some partial and temporary modification. Owen made alterations in the costumes and ceremonies at Oxford; instead of conforming to the ancient etiquette of his office, he often, it is said, wore Spanish boots, large knots of ribbon at his knees, and a cocked hat. But he energetically defended the institution itself, in its studies, regulations, and property; and the universities, with their system of education and means of action, were one of those powerful fragments of English society which Cromwell saved from the attacks of the revolution, which had raised him to the sovereign power.[2]

Nor did he rest satisfied with saving them from ruin; he watched carefully over their prosperity and renown. He presented the university of Oxford with a collection of valuable manuscripts, mostly Greek; and to theological studies, particularly to the publication of the great Polyglot Bible, by Dr. Walton, he granted ready and effectual encouragement. In order to secure the benefit of a learned education to the northern counties, which complained of being too far off to profit by Oxford and Cambridge, he decreed the foundation of a great college at Durham, to be

[1] Goodwin was made President of Magdalen College in the beginning of the year 1650; Owen was made Dean of Christ-Church in March 1652, and Vice-Chancellor in the September following.

[2] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iv. cols. 98, 99.

endowed with the property of the abolished deanery and chapter. His mind was neither naturally elegant nor richly cultivated, but his unfettered genius comprehended the necessities of the human intellect; and the great institutions of education and learning were of use to him as means of patronage and government.[1]

In his conduct towards literary and scientific men themselves, he was guided by the same feelings,—by no sympathy as a connoisseur, but by politic benevolence; honouring their labours, noting their influence, eager to be praised, or defended, or treated politely by them, and protecting or conciliating them in his turn, according as they belonged to his own or the opposite party. Most had belonged, or still belonged, to the royalist ranks;—among the poets, Cowley, Denham, Davenant, Cleveland, Waller, and Butler; among philosophers and men of science, Cudworth, Hobbes, Jeremy Taylor, and Usher, were all either in the service, or favourable to the cause, of the Church and Crown. Cromwell was under no delusion as to their principles; but he was careful not to treat them so harshly as to have them for violent enemies; if he found them involved in any party intrigue, if even they were arrested, he never failed to order their release; if he thought it possible, by a little favour or tolerance, to gain their adherence or respect, he left no means untried for the purpose. Waller resided, as his cousin, at his court; Cowley and Hobbes were

[1] Peck's Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell, pp. 60—72; Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell, pp. 420, 421; Cromwelliana, p. 156.

allowed to return from exile; Butler meditated, in the house of one of Cromwell's officers, his grotesque satires against the fanatical or hypocritical sectaries; Davenant, on his liberation from prison, obtained permission from the Puritan dictator to open a little theatre at Rutland House, for the performance of his comedies. For such amnesty or toleration, these wits had to give some promises of political neutrality, or some piece of poetical flattery; but after having imposed on them these acts of contrition, Cromwell proved neither exacting nor suspicious. When he had to deal with grave and quiet men, he expressed to them his esteem, seeking to live on good terms with them, but never exhibiting a despot's fatuity or pretensions. He directed Thurloe to apply to Cudworth, who was living in learned retirement at Cambridge, for information regarding persons educated in that university who aspired to public employments; to Hobbes, whose political doctrines pleased him, he offered the post of a secretary in his household; Selden and Meric Casaubon were invited by him to write, one an answer to the "Eikon Basiliké," and the other, a history of the recent civil wars. Both of them declined, and Casaubon even refused a purely gratuitous pension; but Cromwell took no offence. On the death of Archbishop Usher, he was anxious that he should have a solemn funeral in Westminster Abbey, and purchased his library, that it might not be sent to the Continent. He did not always execute all that he had, on the impulse of the moment, promised or planned in matters of this

nature. Under the distracting influence of important affairs the most attentive forget, and the most powerful want means, always to accomplish the benevolent designs they may have announced; but if he was not exempt from these shortcomings of supreme power, Cromwell is perhaps, of all sovereigns, the one who is least open to the charge.[1]

Towards the literary men of the revolutionary party he had less need to act with circumspection. Some of them, Thomas May, Samuel Morland, John Pell, Owen, Goodwin, Nye, and a great many other dissenting theologians, were either irretrievably pledged to his cause, or actively engaged as members of his government. Others, among whom Milton stands supreme, were ardent republicans, whom the illusions of fancy, the sophisms of interest, or the pressure of circumstances held in allegiance to a despot, in the name of the principles of liberty. Cromwell, profiting by his ascendancy, kept them in his service, but without showing affection for them or placing confidence in them. When he became Protector he appointed another Latin secretary to his Council of State in addition to Milton,[1] and an order of the Council deprived Milton, who had already become blind, of the lodging which he occupied in

[1] See the Lives of Cowley, Denham, Waller, and Butler, prefixed to their poetical works; Lives of Cudworth, Davenant, Hobbes, and Usher, in the Biographia Britannica; Harris's Life of Cromwell, pp. 417, 418; Peck's Memoirs of Cromwell; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 240, 241.

[2] Philip Meadows was appointed to this post on the 3rd of February, 1654.

Whitehall. He continued to receive his salary; he continued to write Latin despatches; he was more than once supplied with funds to afford liberal hospitality at his house and table to such foreign literary men as came to visit England; but he was admitted neither into the State secrets nor into the intimacy of the Protector, to whom, as opportunity offered, he occasionally addressed the warmest eulogies and the most generous advice. He was quite conscious of the small amount of influence which he possessed, but he made no complaint. "You desire," he wrote, on the 18th of December, 1657, to Peter Haimbach, one of his Dutch friends, "that I should recommend you to our envoy who is appointed for Holland; I regret that it is not in my power to do so. I enjoy very little familiarity with the bestowers of favours, and I remain shut up at home, and that very willingly."[1] Other literary men, holding no public offices, Henry Nevill, Cyriac Skinner, one of Milton's disciples, Roger Coke, John Aubrey, and Maximilian Pettie, had grouped themselves around Harrington, with whom they formed a club called the Rota, which met every evening in a coffee-house near Westminster Hall, and at which they publicly discussed various questions of political organization, in a spirit not very favourable to Cromwell's government. Some of his soldiers, who were present at these discussions, were more than once tempted to put an end to them by violence, but the great name of Harrington and his moderate language

[1] Milton's Works, by Todd, vol. i. pp. 152—159; Milton's Works, by Mitford, vol. i. p. xciv., and vol. v. p. 406.

restrained them. Cromwell maintained a strict surveillance over this philosophic coterie, but subjected them to no persecution. Being informed that Harrington was about to publish his republican Utopy, the *Oceana*, he ordered the manuscript to be seized at the printer's and brought to Whitehall. After vain endeavours to obtain its restoration, Harrington, in despair, resolved to apply to the Protector's favourite daughter, Lady Claypole, who was known to be a friend to literary men, and always ready to intercede for the unfortunate. While he was waiting for her in an ante-room, some of Lady Claypole's women passed through the room, followed by her daughter, a little girl three years of age. Harrington stopped the child, and entertained her so amusingly that she remained listening to him until her mother entered. "Madam," said the philosopher, setting down the child, whom he had taken in his arms, "'tis well you are come at this nick of time, or I had certainly stolen this pretty little lady." "Stolen her!" replied the mother, "pray what to do with her?" "Madam," said he, "though her charms assure her a more considerable conquest, yet I must confess it is not love, but revenge, that prompted me to commit this theft." "Lord!" answered the lady again, "what injury have I done you that you should steal my child?" "None at all," replied he, "but that you might be induced to prevail with your father to do me justice, by restoring my child that he has stolen;" and he explained to Lady Claypole the cause of his complaint. She immediately promised to

procure his book for him, if it contained nothing prejudicial to her father's government. He assured her it was only a kind of political romance, and so far from any treason against her father, that he hoped to be permitted to dedicate it to him: and he promised to present her ladyship with one of the earliest copies. Lady Claypole kept her word, and obtained the restitution of the manuscript, and Harrington dedicated his work to the Protector. "The gentleman," said Cromwell, after having read it, "would like to trepan me out of my power; but what I got by the sword I will not quit for a little paper shot. I approve the government of a single person as little as any, but I was forced to take upon me the office of a high-constable, to preserve the peace among the several parties in the nation, since I saw that, being left to themselves, they would never agree to any certain form of government, and would only spend their whole power in defeating the designs or destroying the persons of one another."[1]

Few despots have so carefully confined themselves within the limits of practical necessity, and allowed the human mind such a wide range of libery.

It is in the promotion of material prosperity that absolute power, on emerging from great social disturbances, takes its chief delight, and achieves its completest triumph: Cromwell devoted himself to this task with active solicitude, not only by the general maintenance of order, but by the adoption of

[1] Biographia Britannica, *sub voce* Harrington; Toland's Life of Harrington, prefixed to his edition of the Oceana, p. xix.

direct and special measures. In 1655, he appointed a Committee of Trade, to meet under the presidency of his eldest son Richard, composed of the members of the Council of State, the judges, certain lawyers, and the aldermen of the nine principal commercial towns of England, for the purpose of inquiring into the means of assisting the development of the trade and navigation of England, and invested with the necessary powers for carrying their decisions into effect. In 1657, he granted the East India Company a new charter; which led to the subscription of an additional capital of three hundred and seventy thousand pounds, and rescued that important branch of trade from the decay into which it had fallen. The management of the post-office received great extension and valuable improvement in 1654. Commissioners were directed to examine into the abuses which had crept into the administration of numerous charitable institutions, and to procure their redress. Everywhere was visible the activity of a vigilant administration, directed by a man of genius and good sense, and supported by a powerful government.[1]

Whilst Cromwell was thus personally engaged in governing England, he had as his lieutenants, Monk in Scotland, and his son Henry, in Ireland; both of them judicious and moderate men, thoroughly understanding his position and policy, and inclined, by their own natural tendencies, to act in conformity with

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. pp. 470, 471; Whitelocke, p. 630; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. p. 168; Pictorial History of England, vol. iii. pp. 547, 548, 552.

them. With regard to Monk, the Protector was not altogether free from distrust. Scotland was full of royalists; Monk treated them sparingly, and in their turn, they paid him great court, in the hope of gaining him to their side, or compromising him with Cromwell. A letter reached him one day from Cologne. It was from Charles II., who wrote as follows:—

"Cologne, August 12, 1656.

"One who believes he knows your nature and inclinations very well assures me that, notwithstanding all ill accidents and misfortunes, you retain still your old affection to me, and resolve to express it upon the seasonable opportunity, which is as much as I look for from you. We must all patiently wait for that opportunity, which may be offered sooner than we expect. When it is, let it find you ready; and in the mean time, have a care to keep yourself out of their hands, who know the hurt you can do them in a good conjuncture; and can never but suspect your affection to be as I am confident it is towards your, &c.

"Charles Rex."

Monk sent a copy of this letter to Cromwell, on the 8th of November;[1] but did not say that it had been addressed to himself, and seemed not to know to whom it was to be delivered. Whether Cromwell had discovered the truth or not, he wrote to Monk, some time afterwards—"There be that tell me that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 162.

Charles Stuart. I pray use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me."[1] But these mutual precautions did not destroy friendly relations between the two men; without pledging his whole future conduct, Monk could render faithful service to the power which he considered the strongest, and Cromwell knew how to make use of capable men, without trusting entirely to them. In Ireland, the Protector had to deal with more complicated difficulties; nearly the whole population, native and Catholic, was opposed to him; the army still contained many republicans, and Ludlow still resided among them. Cromwell had a double task to perform in that country: on the one hand, he had to dispossess and transplant most of the Irish landholders to the province of Connaught; on the other, he had to satisfy the subscribers to the loan of 1641, and the English officers and soldiers to whom the confiscated estates had been promised. Though it had been decreed before the establishment of the Protectorate, this terrible operation, which brought the passions of victors and vanquished alike into play, had not yet been performed, and Cromwell intrusted its execution to a young man, untried as yet, and who had no other authority but that attaching to his name. He conferred this great and difficult power upon him very gradually: he sent him first of all to Ireland as a mere observer, in February, 1654; and then, in June, 1655, as a major-general of the army, under Lord David Fleetwood. With his usual unflinching adherence to his habits of hypocritical artfulness, he

[1] Guizot's Life of Monk, p. 59.

wrote to Fleetwood, on the 22nd of June, 1655: "It is reported that you are to be sent for, and Harry to be Deputy; which truly never entered into my heart. The Lord knows, my desire was for him and his brother to have lived private lives in the country; and Harry knows this very well, and how difficultly I was persuaded to give him his present commission. The noise of my being crowned is a similar malicious figment." But he added at the end of the letter: "If you have a mind to come over with your dear wife, take the best opportunity for the good of the public and your own convenience." Fleetwood did come over to England, and Henry Cromwell remained in Ireland, invested with the sole authority in that country, where, some time after, in November, 1657, he officially assumed the character of Lord Deputy. He fully justified his father's confidence; but his private habits, and the internal arrangements of his household, were far from giving equal satisfaction; the scandal even was so flagrant, that his sister Mary, who afterwards became Lady Faulconbridge, thought it her duty to remonstrate with him on the subject. "Dear brother," she wrote, on the 7th December, 1655, "I cannot but give you some item of one that is with you, who, it is much feared by your friends that love you, is some dishonour to you and my dear sister, if you have not a great care. For it is reported here, that she rules much in your family; therefore, dear brother, take it not ill that I give you an item of her,—for truly, if I did not love both you and your honour, I would not give you notice of her." It

does not appear that Henry Cromwell paid much attention to his sister's counsels; but his prudent political conduct screened the improprieties of his private life: he lessened the extreme rigour of the measures which he was directed to execute towards the ejected Irish,—he conciliated the Presbyterians, and many even of the royalists,—he removed from the army most of the Anabaptists and republicans who were decidedly hostile to his policy,—and finally, on a vague and imperfect promise of tranquillity, he sent Ludlow to England:—so that Cromwell could say, in speaking of his son, with all the satisfaction of paternal pride, "He is a governor from whom I myself might learn."[1]

On the 12th of December, 1655, Ludlow had only just arrived in London, when the Protector sent for him, and gave him an immediate audience, in his bedchamber, at Whitehall, surrounded by several of his general officers. "You have not dealt fairly with me," said Cromwell to him abruptly, "in making me to believe you had signed an engagement not to act against me, and yet reserving an explanation whereby you made void that engagement; which if it had not been made known to me, I might have relied upon your promise. Wherefore will you not engage not to act against the present Government? If Nero were in power it would be your duty to submit."

Ludlow.—"I am ready to submit, and I can truly

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vols. iii. v. *passim*, for the correspondence between Thurloe and Henry Cromwell; Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, vol. i. p. 197; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 137, 138, 169; Leland's History of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 401; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 427—463.

say that I know not of any design against you. But if Providence open a way, and give an opportunity of appearing on behalf of the people, I cannot consent to tie my own hands beforehand, and oblige myself not to lay hold of it."

CROMWELL.—"At all events, it is not reasonable to suffer one that I distrust to come within my house, till he assure me he will do me no mischief."

LUDLOW.—"I am not accustomed to go into any house unless I expect to be welcome; neither have I come hither but upon a message from you. I desire nothing but a little liberty to breathe in the air, to which I conceive I have an equal right with other men. I have gone as far as I could in that engagement which I gave to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and if that be not thought sufficient, I am resolved with God's assistance, to suffer any extremities that may be imposed upon me."

CROMWELL.—"Yes; we know your resolution well enough, and we have cause to be as stout as you; but, I pray, who spoke of your suffering?"

LUDLOW.—"If I am not deceived, sir, you mentioned the securing my person."

CROMWELL.—"Yea, and great reason there is why we should do so. I am ashamed to see that engagement which you have given to the Lieutenant-General, which would be more fit for a general who should be taken prisoner, and that hath yet an army of thirty thousand men in the field, than for one in your condition. I have always been ready to do you what good offices I could, and I wish you as well as any of

my council. I desire you to make choice of some place to be in, where you may have good air."

LUDLOW.—"I assure you my dissatisfactions are not grounded upon any animosity against your person. If my own father were alive, and in your place, they would, I doubt not, be altogether as great."

CROMWELL.—"Well, well; you have always carried yourself fairly and openly to me; but I protest I have never given you just cause to act otherwise."

Here the conversation ended; Ludlow was conducted into an adjacent room, where he was soon after joined by Fleetwood, who endeavoured to persuade him to engage, as the Protector desired, though but for a week. "Not for an hour," answered Ludlow; and he returned home, where Cromwell allowed him to remain in peace. Six months afterwards, in August, 1656, Cromwell had issued orders for the convocation of a new Parliament, from which he was anxious to exclude the influential republicans; and he summoned Ludlow before his council. "I am not ignorant," he said, "of the many plots that are on foot to disturb the present power; yet I would have you to know that what I do proceeds not from a motive of fear, but from a timely prudence to foresee and prevent danger. Had I done as I should, I ought to have secured you immediately upon your coming into England; and therefore I now require you to give assurance not to act against the Government."

LUDLOW.—"I must beg to be excused in that particular, and to remind you of the reasons I formerly

gave you for my refusal. I am, however, in your power, and you may use me as you think fit."

CROMWELL.—"Pray, then, what is it that you would have? May not every man be as good as he will? What can you desire more than you have?"

LUDLOW.—"It were easy to tell what we would have."

CROMWELL.—"What is that, I pray?"

LUDLOW.—"That which we fought for—that the nation might be governed by its own consent."

CROMWELL.—"I am as much for a government by consent as any man; but where shall we find that consent? Among the prelatical, Presbyterian, independent, anabaptist, or levelling parties?"

LUDLOW.—"Amongst those of all sorts who have acted with fidelity and affection to the public."

CROMWELL.—"The people enjoy protection and quiet under my government; and I am resolved to keep the nation from being again imbrued in blood."

LUDLOW.—"I am of opinion too much blood has been already shed, unless there be a better account of it."

CROMWELL.—"You do well to charge us with the guilt of blood; but we think there has been a good return for what hath been shed; and we understand what clandestine correspondences are carrying on at this time between the Spaniard and those of your party, who make use of your name, and affirm that you will own them and assist them."

LUDLOW.—"I know not what you mean by my

party, and I can truly say that, if any men have entered into an engagement with Spain, they have had no advice from me so to do, and that, if they will use my name, I cannot help it."

CROMWELL.—"I desire not to put any more hardships on you than on myself. I have always been ready to do you all the good offices that lay in my power; and I aim at nothing by this proceeding but the public quiet and security."

LUDLOW.—"Truly, sir, I know not why you should be an enemy to me, who have been faithful to you in all your difficulties."

CROMWELL.—"I understand not what you mean by my difficulties. I am sure they were not so properly mine as those of the public; for, in respect to my outward condition, I have not much improved it, as these gentlemen well know." The members of the council, thus appealed to, rose from their seats in token of assent to what he said.

LUDLOW.—"It is from that duty which I owe to the public, whereof you express such a peculiar regard, that I dare not give the security, because I conceive it to be against the liberty of the people and contrary to the known law of England. Here is an Act of Parliament for restraining the Council from imprisoning any of the free-born people of England; and in case they should do so, requiring the Justices of the Upper Bench, upon the application of the aggrieved party, to grant his habeas corpus, and to give him considerable damages. To this act I suppose you gave your free vote, and I assure you

that, for my own part, I dare not do anything that may tend to the violation of it."

CROMWELL.—"But did not the army and Council of State commit persons to prison?"

LUDLOW.—"The Council of State did so, but it was by virtue of an authority granted to them by the Parliament; and if the army have sometimes acted in that manner, it has been in time of war, and then only in order to bring the persons secured to a legal trial. Whereas, it is now pretended that we live in a time of peace, and are to be governed by the known laws of the land."

CROMWELL.—"A justice of peace may commit, and shall not I?"

LUDLOW.—"A justice of peace is a legal officer, and authorized by the law to do so, which you could not be, though you were king; because if you do wrong therein, no remedy can be had against you."[1]

The discussion, on both sides, was evidently vain; Cromwell carried it no further, but dismissed Ludlow without ordering his arrest. He was less surprised than he was willing to appear at this resistance and this language. He himself thought, in his inmost heart, that England could be governed neither tranquilly nor long, without the fulfilment of certain conditions of legality, and the co-operation of a Parliament; and experience, more powerful than Ludlow's arguments, confirmed him every day in these convictions. He had succeeded in all his under-

[1] Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 233—235, 240—242; Guizot's Etudes Biographiques sur la Revolution d'Angleterre, pp. 68—77.

takings; he had overcome all his enemies, and surmounted all obstacles; and yet obstacles reappeared, and enemies rose once more against him; though universally and invariably victorious, his government had obtained no stability; neither the defeat of all factions, nor the re-establishment of order, nor the salutary activity of his home administration, could suffice to secure him what he sought—the right of present, and the prospect of future rule. Great successes abroad, brilliant and useful alliances, the wide diffusion of the power of England and the glory of his own name; would they be more likely to accomplish this twofold object? By gaining more influence and celebrity throughout the world, would he strengthen his position in his own country? He hoped to do so; and, in his foreign policy, he displayed, with greater confidence than in his home government, his bold spirit of enterprise, and the absolute power which he had at his command.

BOOK VII.

CROMWELL'S PREPARATIONS FOR WAR AGAINST SPAIN—HIS PROJECTED CAMPAIGN IN BOTH HEMISPHERES—BLAKE'S EXPEDITION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN,—BEFORE LEGHORN, TUNIS, TRIPOLI, AND ALGIERS,—AND OFF THE COAST OF SPAIN—DEPARTURE FROM PORTSMOUTH OF THE FLEET UNDER PENN AND VENABLES—SECRET OF THEIR DESTINATION—DON LUIS DE HARO, CONDÉ, AND MAZARIN PUSH THEIR NEGOCIATIONS WITH CROMWELL—PERSECUTION OF THE VAUDOIS IN PIEDMONT—INTERVENTION OF CROMWELL ON THEIR BEHALF—PENN AND VENABLES ATTACK ST. DOMINGO, UNSUCCESSFULLY—CAPTURE OF JAMAICA—RUPTURE BETWEEN CROMWELL AND SPAIN—TREATY BETWEEN CROMWELL AND FRANCE—THE COURT OF MADRID PROMISES ASSISTANCE TO CHARLES II.—CROMWELL SENDS LOCKHART AS HIS AMBASSADOR TO PARIS—CROMWELL'S GREATNESS AND IMPORTANCE IN EUROPE—HE CONVOKES ANOTHER PARLIAMENT.

Towards the end of the summer, and during the course of the autumn of 1654, whilst the Protector and the Parliament which he had just called together, were engaged in secret conflict with one another, two great fleets were being equipped and armed at Portsmouth; one, consisting of twenty-five ships, was under the command of Admiral Blake; the other, comprising thirty-eight vessels, was to carry the flag of Admiral Sir William Penn, and, in addition to its crew, was to take on board three thousand soldiers under the command of General Venables. The utmost secresy was maintained as to the destination

of these two fleets; the Parliament had placed them at the disposal of the Protector, without inquiring what he intended to do with them; and Cromwell merely stated that their duty would be to establish the maritime predominance of England in all seas. One day, a mob of the wives of the sailors who were serving on board, pursued him through the streets, inquiring whither their husbands were to be sent; Cromwell replied with a smile: "The ambassadors of France and Spain would each of them willingly give me a million to know that."[1]

These were preparations for the execution of a plan which he had determined on in his own mind. In order to maintain himself in his position, and to mount still higher, he required that England should be in the enjoyment of prosperity and greatness, and that he should himself lack neither renown nor money; for neither his revolutionary measures nor his major-generals had provided sufficiently for the expenses of government. Moreover, he was anxious to employ the national fleet with distinction in distant service; the sailors, both officers and men, were in general not very friendly to him; they had not, like the land army, been partakers in his victories and accomplices in his crimes. Some of them were republicans, but the greater number were royalists. Spain and the

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 542, 571—574, 638, 653, vol. iii. p. 14; Whitelocke, p. 621; Dixon's Life of Blake, pp. 266—272; Penn's Memorials of Sir William Penn, vol. ii. pp. 2—27; Letters from Bordeaux to Brienne, December 21, 1654; in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France. See Appendix X.

New World alone seemed to furnish the means of giving ample satisfaction to all these interests of the Protector's policy: there would be expeditions and conquests, booty and trade, enough to occupy ardent minds, to keep malcontents at a distance, and to satiate even the most avaricious. And these successes might be obtained at the expense of that country which was pre-eminently Catholic and Papistical; of a country which, far from containing within its boundaries, as was the case in France, a large number of Protestants who were tolerated by the law, would not suffer, on its territory, the slightest practice of the reformed religion even by strangers, even by English merchants. Spain, it is true, had been the first of the great continental monarchies, to recognize the Commonwealth, and it had given no legitimate motive, no specious pretext, for such an aggression; but this arose from weakness and timidity on its part, not from any real feelings of good-will; and Cromwell was as little to be duped by the actions of others as he was unscrupulous as to his own. A person named Gage, who had once been a priest, and had lived a long while in the West Indies, had given him an alluring description of their immense wealth, their great commercial capabilities, the decay of the Spanish government, and the facility with which England might obtain complete success, if she would strike a first vigorous blow. Cromwell resolved to attack Spain in America; this was the destination of the squadron and troops commanded by Penn and Venables; St. Domingo, Porto Rico, Cuba, and (on the American

continent) Cartagena, were the points specially designated for their enterprises. "We have no desire to bind you," ran their instructions, "by any precise order, or to any special mode of proceeding; we impart to you only those facts and views which have occurred to us. Our general design is to obtain an establishment in that part of the West Indies which is possessed by the Spaniards: when you are on the spot, you will deliberate among yourselves, and with persons who are well acquainted with those countries; and you will adopt, both in reference to the enterprises to be attempted, and to the manner of conducting the whole design, such resolutions as shall appear to you most reasonable and efficacious." And whilst Penn, with his squadron, was to sail for Spanish America, Blake was to cruise, with his fleet, all round the coast of Spain, to keep an eye on her ports and ships, to cut off all combination between the mother country and her American settlements, and thus to secure, by a combination of vigorous operations in both hemispheres, the complete success of this great design.[1]

Blake's fleet, which was less numerous, and required less time to equip, was ready three months before Penn's squadron could put to sea. It suited Cromwell's purpose that the co-operation of the two fleets, and the unity of their commission, should at first be

[1] Dixon's Life of Blake, p. 273; Memorials of Sir William Penn, vol. ii. pp. 28, 29; Burnet's History of His Own Time, vol i. p. 137; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 11, 16; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 172—176.

concealed. England had to make complaints, to obtain indemnities, and to establish her renown and influence, in the Mediterranean. Blake had time to accomplish this task, before his permanent presence off the coast of Spain became essential to the operations of Penn and Venables in America. He received orders to sail; but, before giving him final instructions, Cromwell, in order to remove all suspicion, wrote the following letter to King Philip IV., on the 5th of August, 1654:—"As the safety and protection of the trade and navigation of the people of this Commonwealth impose on us the necessity of sending a fleet of ships of war into the Mediterranean, we think it right to inform your Majesty of the same. We do this with no intention to cause any damage to any of our allies and friends, among whom we reckon your Majesty. On the contrary, we enjoin our general, Robert Blake, whom we have appointed to command this fleet, to conduct himself towards them with all possible respect and friendship. We have no doubt that, in return, whenever our fleet may enter your ports and harbours, either to purchase provisions, or for any other purpose, it will be received with all possible good offices. This is what, by this present letter, we demand of your Majesty. We beg you to repose full confidence in our said general, whenever, by letter or otherwise, he may address either your Majesty, or your governors and ministers, in the places where he may find it necessary to touch. May God keep and protect your Majesty!"[1]

[1] From the Archives of Simancas. See Appendix XI.

Blake put to sea before the end of October, still suffering from the wound he had received in his last engagement with the Dutch, but full of hopefulness and confidence, and inspiring all who served under him with the feelings which animated himself. He was a hero of great simplicity and self-restraint, modest in his boldness, devoted to his faith and profession, influential, though taciturn with his companions, and as much honoured as he was feared by his enemies. The news of his departure created a great sensation at Paris, at Lisbon, at Madrid, and in all the courts of southern Europe; no one knew what he was going to do; but it was believed that he would attempt a great deal, and that, in all he attempted, he would push forward to the end. Almost at the very moment when he left Portsmouth, a French fleet sailed from Toulon, on its way to Naples, containing a body of troops under the command of the Duke of Guise, of whose insane rashness Mazarin was, for the second time, taking advantage, as a pretext for hostility to Spain. On learning that Blake was bound for the Mediterranean, the cardinal was filled with anxiety, and the Count de Brienne wrote, by his order, to M. de Bordeaux:—"I am weighing in my mind the words which I have to write to you, for fear that too lofty an expression may cause an evil of which the consequences might be fearful, or that too low a phrase may cover us with disgrace . . . . It is necessary that you should make it understood that his Majesty, having been informed that Blake has received orders to sail for the straits, to pass them, and to enter

the Mediterranean, has resolved to avoid any accident that might render his affairs incapable of an accommodation." Instructions were doubtless given in conformity with this resolution,—for when Blake arrived off Cadiz, one of his tenders was arrested by a Brest squadron on its way to reinforce the Duke of Guise at Toulon; and the French admiral, as soon as he learned that it belonged to the English fleet, sent for the captain into his cabin, told him he was at liberty to continue his voyage, and invited him to drink Admiral Blake's health in a bumper of Burgundy, accompanying the toast with a salute of five guns; after which the French ships, instead of proceeding on their journey, fell back upon Lisbon. The Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and even Algerine vessels, which were lying in the roads, received Blake with similar demonstrations of respect. The Count de Molina, governor of Cadiz, invited him to enter the port, where he promised him a most friendly reception; but Blake replied that he was in haste to take advantage of the wind to pass the straits, that he might, without loss of time, execute the Protector's orders in the Mediterranean. He then proceeded rapidly to Naples, to oppose the invasion of the Duke of Guise; for Cromwell, still wavering between France and Spain, was unwilling to allow either to obtain too great an ascendancy, and made it his endeavour to keep them both in check by turns. But when the English fleet arrived off Naples, the Duke of Guise had already failed, and re-embarked for France; and Blake, free from the care of preventing this frivolous enterprise, was able to pursue the

accomplishment of his haughty mission along the whole coast of the Mediterranean.[1]

He presented himself first of all before Leghorn, and sent to the Grand Duke of Tuscany to demand instant redress for the owners of those English merchant vessels which had been captured in 1650 by Prince Rupert, and sold in the ports of Tuscany; and also permission for the English Protestants to have a church at Florence, and to enjoy the undisturbed exercise of their religion in that city. The alarm spread all along the Italian coast; some of the prizes had been sold in the Papal States, and the Grand Duke submitted that the pope ought to pay a portion of the indemnity required. Upon this, Blake sent an officer to Rome also, to demand reparation. The terror of the inhabitants was so great that many of them left the city, taking with them or concealing their most valuable property; and the pope ordered that the wealth deposited in the Cathedral of Loretto should be conveyed into the interior, as he feared a disembarkation and sudden attack on the part of the arrogant English heretics. Blake was no pillager, nor was he regardless of the rules and proceedings of the law of nations; he peremptorily insisted on the payment of the indemnity, but committed no act of violence. Negociations began as to the amount of damages to be paid. Blake demanded a hundred and

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 731, vol. iii. p. 103; Whitelocke, p. 609; Dixon's Life of Blake, pp. 272—276; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 269; Bouillé's Histoire des Ducs de Guise, vol. iv. pp. 484—490; Papers from the Archives of Simancas, and from the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France. See Appendix XII.

fifty thousand pounds; the Grand Duke paid him sixty thousand, and the pope added twenty thousand pistoles.[1] As to granting liberty for Protestant worship at Florence, the Grand Duke evaded giving a direct answer, saying that no such privilege had been conceded in any of the Italian States, but that he would willingly make the concession, if other sovereigns would do the same. Blake did not insist further on his demand,—he was one of those who had religious liberty sincerely at heart, and he earnestly desired to secure it to Protestants all over the world; but he was sensible and just—he had a due regard for the rights of sovereigns, and he felt that the condition of the Catholics in England stood greatly in the way of his claims.[2]

From Leghorn he sailed to the coast of Africa, first to Tunis, then to Tripoli, and then to Algiers, for the purpose of demanding indemnity for English merchants, and of obtaining the liberation of the Christian captives who had fallen into the hands of the pirates. A report had been spread that, by order of the Grand Signior, the fleets of all the Mussulman States in the Mediterranean were to assemble at Tunis, doubtless in order to attack and pillage some Christian country. Blake was resolved to defeat any enterprise of this nature, and to impress the minds of the Barbarescoes with a due respect for England. At Tunis only, he

[1] The Roman pistole is worth about fourteen shillings.

[2] Dixon's Life of Blake, pp. 274—278; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 1, 41, 103, vol. iv. p. 464; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. p. 188; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 215.

had occasion to employ force. At the same time that he communicated his demands to the Dey, he requested permission to take on board a supply of fresh water. The Dey brutally refused everything. "Tell the Dey," said Blake, "that God has given the benefit of water to all his creatures; and for men to deny it to each other is equally insolent and wicked." The Dey's only answer was to show the English officers his strong fortresses. "Here," he said, "are our castles of Goletta and Porto Ferino; do your worst, and do not think to brave us with the sight of your great fleet;" and he was preparing to repel any attack, when he saw the English fleet stand out to sea without firing a single gun. He revelled in the proud enjoyment of his easy deliverance for a fortnight; but on the 3rd of April, 1655, the English fleet appeared again before Tunis; and at dawn on the following day, it anchored within half musket-range of the Tunisian batteries. Blake had been to Trapani, on the coast of Sicily, to collect some of his ships, and to complete his supply of ammunition. After divine service had been solemnly performed on the deck of every vessel, within sight of the wonder-stricken and respecting Mussulmans, the action began, and for two hours the Tunisian forts and the English ships kept up an incessant cannonade. The wind was favourable to the English; they were able to aim their guns with precision, whilst the Tunisians had to fire almost at random through clouds of smoke. The issue was, however, still uncertain when Blake ordered one of his most trusted officers, John Stoaks, captain of his

flag-ship the *St. George*, to lower some of the long-boats of the fleet, and to row alongside nine great Corsair vessels, which lay at anchor in the port, and which constituted the entire naval armament of the Dey; and to set fire to them with lighted brands and torches. The order was boldly executed; notwithstanding the galling fire of the musketeers on shore, the Tunisian fleet was soon in flames; in vain did the Dey's men attempt to arrest the progress of the disaster; the English frigates raked the decks of the burning vessels with terrible broadsides, and destroyed all who had ventured to their relief. The harbour soon became a sea of flame in that direction, and in presence of the dreadful sight, the battle almost ceased. But its issue was no longer doubtful; the Tunisians completely lost courage; the batteries became silent. If he had pleased, Blake might easily have landed and made himself master of the town; but he had attained his object; the Dey had been made to feel the power of England. The fate of Tunis became a warning to the whole coast of Africa; at Tripoli and Algiers, Blake met with no resistance: and with his usual moderation in victory, he arranged, without any arrogant exactions, the demands of his countrymen, and the ransom of the captives.[1]

Even in his conduct towards Mussulmans and barbarians, he did not consider himself at liberty to do

[1] Dixon's Life of Blake, pp. 280—293; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 232, 326, 390; Whitelocke, pp. 621—627; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 173—178; Bates's Elenchus Motuum, part ii. p. 362.

as he pleased, and all his acts indicate a prudent respect for the law of nations and his instructions. On the 14th of March, while lying before Tunis, and on the point of attacking it, he wrote to Thurloe: "We are not fully satisfied as touching the power given in that particular instruction authorizing us, in case of refusal of right, to seize, surprise, sink, and destroy all ships and vessels belonging to the kingdom of Tunis. I wish that the intent of this and other instructions of this nature might be more clear and explicit, and more plainly significant as to our duty." And on the 18th of April, after his victory, he wrote: "Seeing it hath pleased God so signally to justify us herein, I hope his Highness will not be offended at it, nor any who regard duly the honour of our nation; although I expect to hear of many complaints and clamours of interested men. I confess that, in contemplation thereof, and some seeming ambiguity in my instructions (of which I gave you a hint in my last), I did awhile much hesitate myself, and was balanced in my thoughts, until the barbarous carriage of those pirates did turn the scale." [1]

Having thus taught the Corsairs a terrible lesson, Blake cruised for some time in the Mediterranean, sailing wherever the power, honour, or fortune of England seemed to require his presence: to Malta, in order to teach respect to the knights, who had more than once detained and captured English merchantmen; to Venice, in order to receive the congratulations of the Doge and senate, who were delighted that,

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 232—390.

in the midst of their conflict with the Turks for the possession of Candia, the Mussulmans should receive so effectual a check in the adjacent seas; to Toulon and Marseilles in order to intimidate the French privateers, who, in spite of the king's express commands, occasionally sailed from those ports, and committed serious depredations on English trade. Both in law and in fact, the police of the high seas was still, at this period, almost a dead letter, and entirely powerless; peace between states was not a pledge of unmolested navigation to their respective subjects; and governments did not succeed, or frequently did not attempt, either themselves to repress the maritime disorders of their own subjects, or to protect them against similar disorders or violent attacks on the part of foreign fleets. Blake made large use of his right to watch over the safety of English commerce in the Mediterranean. In order to discourage and punish the depredators, he took prizes of more or less value, in his turn, from the commercial navies of France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, and Hamburgh, which could not fail to lead to unpleasant difficulties with those governments; but, by his activity and vigour, he animated English merchants with a confidence, and inspired foreign privateers with a dread, which contributed powerfully to promote the prosperity and renown of his country. And, when he thought he had done enough to secure this end, he returned towards the coast of Spain, to await the outbreak of a war between the two States, which was to lead to the

expedition against Spanish America, and the conduct of which, in Europe, was to devolve upon himself.[1]

As he lay off Malaga, some of his sailors went on shore, and, happening to meet a procession of the host in the streets, instead of bowing before it with respect, they laughed at it with derision and insult. An indignant priest called on the populace to avenge the honour of their faith; a violent tumult ensued; the English sailors were beaten and forced to retreat to their ships, where they related their own version of the fray to their admiral. On more than one occasion already, at Lisbon and Venice, and in other Catholic ports, similar scenes had taken place: with the prospect before him of the rupture which he knew was on the point of occurring between England and Spain, he resolved not to pass this by in silence. He sent a trumpeter into the town to demand, not, as was expected, that the violence of the mob should be punished, but that the priest who had excited the tumult should be given up to justice. The governor of Malaga replied that he could not comply with this demand, as in Spain the servants of the Church were not amenable to the civil power. "I will not stay to inquire," replied Blake, "who has the power to send the offender to me; but if he be not on board the *St. George* within three hours, I will burn your city to

[1] Dixon's Life of Blake, pp. 289—291; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 85, 321, 487, 698; Whitelocke, p. 621; Bordeaux to Brienne (October 26, 1654), in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.—See Appendix XIII.

the ground." No excuse, no delay, was admitted; the priest was sent to the admiral. Blake at once called the sailors before him, and after having heard the story on both sides, he declared that the seamen had behaved with gross rudeness and impropriety towards the Spaniards, and had themselves provoked the attack of which they complained. "Had you sent me an account of what has occurred," he told the priest, "the men should have been severely punished, as I will not suffer them to affront the religion of any people at whose ports we touch; but I feel extreme displeasure at your having taken the law into your own hands; and I would have you and all the world to know that an Englishman is not to be judged and punished except by Englishmen." And he sent the priest on shore again with much civility; having furnished in the midst of the utmost confusion of rights, a rare example of equity and moderation, combined with ardent faith and superior force.[1]

When Cromwell received the letter in which Blake related this incident, he read it out to the Council of State with the utmost approbation, and declared that "by such means, they would make the name of Englishman as great as that of Roman was in Rome's most palmy days."

Cromwell had reason to employ Blake with the fullest confidence, for the republican sailor had sincerely renounced all further interference in the internal dissensions of his country, and resolved to devote

[1] Burnet's History of His Own Time, vol. i. pp. 147, 148; Dixon's Life of Blake, pp. 301—304.

himself entirely to the advancement of her glory throughout the world. When Thurloe, in January, 1655, announced to him the dissolution of that Parliament which had aspired to reconstitute, at its pleasure and by its sole authority, the Protectoral government, Blake replied: "I was not much surprised with the intelligence; the slow proceedings and awkward motions of that assembly giving great cause to suspect it would come to some such period; and I cannot but exceedingly wonder that there should yet remain so strong a spirit of prejudice and animosity in the minds of men, who profess themselves most affectionate patriots, as to postpone the necessary ways and means for preservation of the Commonwealth, especially in such a time of concurrence of the mischievous plots and designs both of old and new enemies, tending all to the destruction of the same. But blessed be God, who hath hitherto delivered, and doth still deliver us; and I trust will continue so to do, although He be very much tempted by us."[1]

About two months after Blake's departure for the Mediterranean, towards the end of December, 1654, the fleet under Penn and Venables, with a strong body of troops on board, left Portsmouth in its turn, and set sail for Spanish America. Although it had been long in preparation, the expedition began under unfavourable auspices: a short time before its departure, a mutiny was on the point of breaking out among the sailors, who complained of the bad quality of their

[1] Blake to Thurloe, March 14, 1655; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 232.

provisions, refused to be enlisted any longer by impressment, and angrily declared that all the world knew whither they were bound, except themselves. The two leaders, Penn and Venables, were not much better disposed than their subordinates; Penn, in his inmost heart, was a royalist, and when he found himself at the head of a powerful squadron, he sent word to Cologne that, if the King were prepared to act, and would indicate to him a post to which he could conduct his vessels in safety, he was ready to declare in his favour. Venables, a weak and irresolute man, with but little affection for Cromwell, though he had served bravely under him in Ireland, made similar overtures to Charles II. The admiral and general had not communicated their intentions to one another; but they both had but little faith and less liking for Cromwell's future prospects, and were desirous of providing against all contingencies. Charles, who was neither able nor inclined to make any attempt at that time upon England, desired them to pursue, for the advantage of England, the enterprise which they had undertaken, and to wait until a better opportunity should occur for serving him. They set out with no great animation or confidence, having received orders from the Protector not to open their instructions regarding the object and conduct of the expedition until they reached Barbadoes.[1]

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 542, 571—574, 709; vol. iii. pp. 11, 16; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 172, 173; Memorials of Sir William Penn, vol. ii. pp. 14—18; Whitelocke, p. 621; Heath's Chronicle, pp. 674, 682.

The sailors had reason to believe that the secret had been imperfectly kept. It was in Cromwell's own household, and by one of his most trusted servants, that the indiscretion of divulging it had been committed. He frequently employed, in his transactions with the Continent, and particularly with the Protestants of France, Switzerland, and Germany, an agent named Stoupe, a Grison by birth, and now a minister of the French Church in London; a man of considerable talent and great capacity for intrigue; by turns a theologian, a negotiator, a pamphleteer, and a soldier, with no pretension to appear a person of distinction, but inquisitive and active, fond of secret importance and money, and ready to serve any one who would gratify him by bestowing them. Happening one day to enter the Protector's cabinet, Stoupe found him engaged in the careful examination of a map, on which he was measuring distances. He glanced furtively at it, perceived that it was a chart of the Gulf of Mexico, noticed the engraver's name, and went to him the next day to obtain a copy. The engraver declared that he had no such map. "I have seen it," said Stoupe. "Then," replied the man, "it must have been only in Cromwell's hand, for he only has some of the prints, and has given me strict charge to sell none till I have leave." Stoupe's curiosity was powerfully excited, and soon became indiscreet. Talking one day with some persons about Penn's expedition, he said that, for his part, he believed it was destined for the West Indies. This was reported to Don Alonzo de Cardeñas, who sent

for Stoupe, asked him what grounds he had for his opinion, and offered him ten thousand pounds if he could discover the secret for him. Stoupe, for once, was not to be tempted, and put the Spanish ambassador on a wrong scent, instead of satisfying his curiosity. But he was in correspondence with the Protestant Frondeurs, who surrounded the Prince de Condé at Brussels, who was then a despondent fugitive, and had been engaged in inglorious warfare under the Spanish flag ever since the defeat of the Fronde had rendered it impossible for him alternately to act the part of a hero and a rebel in his own country. Stoupe sent his correspondents news in return for their good offices, and informed them of his conjecture as to the destination of Penn's expedition. This was immediately communicated to Condé, who, in his turn, mentioned it to Don John of Austria, who had succeeded the Archduke Leopold in the government of the Netherlands. But Don John attached no importance to a rumour with regard to which he had heard nothing from the Spanish ambassador in London. More attention was, however, paid to it in other quarters. On the 5th of February, 1655, Lord Jermyn wrote from Paris to Charles II., "I cannot forbear allowing myself a great share of hope, out of the several informations that daily come from all parts, that the destination of the fleet is for Hispaniola. Though it be beyond the Line, yet I cannot imagine that the Spaniards can find themselves assaulted in so important a part and remain friends with them that do it." And some months later, on the 5th of May,

Mazarin wrote to Bordeaux, "I cannot understand why it should be so difficult on your side of the Channel to discern the purpose of Penn's fleet, seeing that here, where we might be expected to hear much less news than you hear in the place where you are residing, we have learned that, on passing St. Christopher's, he took on board his fleet three hundred Frenchmen and inhabitants of the island, and then continued his course to Cuba."[1]

The court of Madrid was not so careless as its ambassador in London. Alarmed by the indirect information which reached it from all quarters, Don Luis de Haro, by the king's express command, complained to Cardeñas, not only of his silence regarding the object of Penn's expedition, but of the incoherence of his statements with respect to the affairs of England, and of the small amount of influence which he possessed with a government which Spain had been the first to recognize and support. Cardeñas vigorously defended himself from these censures, attributing the slowness of his proceedings and the unsuccessfulness of his negociations to the want of positive instructions and the hesitating policy of the court of Spain itself. In reference to Penn's squadron, he added—"The design against the Indies is the only one I have been unable to fathom, because the Protector has kept it carefully concealed from those very persons from whom I could hope to ascertain its object. . . . I

[1] Burnet's History of His Own Time, vol. i. p. 137; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 264; Letter from Mazarin to Bordeaux, in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

have therefore been unable to collect anything but conjectures on this subject, and I have transmitted to your Majesty all that have been made regarding this expedition in all their diversity." He ended by requesting his recall.[1]

Instead of recalling him, Philip IV. sent to London a second ambassador, the Marquis de Leyden, a sensible man and valiant officer, who had won himself honours in the wars in the Netherlands by his vigorous defence of Maestricht against the Prince of Orange. He had instructions, acting in concert with Cardeñas, to manifest no apprehensions on account of Penn's squadron, but, on the contrary, to renew to the Protector the most formal assurance of the friendly intentions of his sovereign, and to insist on the conclusion of a treaty of intimate alliance between Spain and England, reminding Cromwell of all the causes which should keep him aloof from France, and offering to aid him at once in taking Calais, provided that, on his part, he would help the Prince of Condé to reenter Bordeaux, and, in concert with the Spaniards, to rekindle the war on the French territory.[2]

Such an advance from the court of Madrid to Cromwell, at the very moment when he was about to commit such an aggression upon Spain, filled Mazarin with anxiety and astonishment. Spain, it appeared, was ready to make any concessions, and undergo any

[1] Cardeñas to King Philip IV. (January 28, 1655); Archives of Simancas. See Appendix IV.

[2] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 688, 761, vol. iii. pp. 54, 154; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 174; Heath's Chronicle, p. 689.

humiliations in order to gain the support of England against France. Orders were sent to M. de Bordeaux to urge the conclusion of the treaty which he had been negociating for more than two years, and even to announce his departure from England if its ratification were further delayed.[1] He had frequently believed he had reached the end of his negociation; but sometimes questions which had seemed settled had been resumed, and sometimes new and unexpected difficulties had been raised. It seemed impossible to come to any agreement as to the terms of the secret article, which was to drive the Stuarts and their principal adherents from France. Cromwell, on his side, would give no pledge not to protect the French Protestants, if they should need his support, for the maintenance of their liberties; faithful to the time-honoured pretensions of the kings of England, he demanded that, in the treaty, the King of France should merely assume the title of King of the French; he was determined to treat as an equal with Louis XIV., and to be named before him in the English copy of the treaty, as had been the case in the conventions which he had concluded with the kings of Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal. Whatever desire Mazarin may have had for peace, however strong Colbert may have insisted on the renewal of friendly and secure commercial relations with England, they long refused compliance with these demands. When Cromwell's fortune seemed tottering, Mazarin drew

[1] Mazarin to Bordeaux, January 2, 1655; Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

back, and ceased to be urgent to conclude matters. In October, 1654, when the struggle was at its height between the Protector and his second Parliament, he wrote to M. de Bordeaux:—"It is advisable to do nothing hastily, and merely to keep things *in statu quo*, until circumstances change, and we are able to see a little more clearly the direction they are likely to take; for it seems to me that prudence does not require that we should make such haste openly to espouse the interests of the Protector, at a conjuncture when, if the opposite party should chance to prevail, all that we had done would only serve to oblige his adversaries to declare against us, and to open their arms to the Spaniards, who would not fail to profit by such a mischance." But when Cromwell was conqueror and sole master at home; when he was seen displaying his power abroad, contracting alliance with all the Protestant states of northern Europe, intimidating both Catholics and Mussulmans in the south, and meditating conquests from Spain; when it became known in Paris that Montecuculi had been to London to attempt to gain the Protector to the interests of the House of Austria, that Whitelocke (at the instigation, it was said, of Queen Christina) had supported his pretensions at Whitehall, and the King of Spain had sent the Marquis of Leyden, in order to give greater weight and dignity to his offers of alliance: in presence of all these facts, Mazarin's hesitation and procrastination disappeared; he sent repeated injunctions to Bordeaux to press the negociation: the terms of the secret article, relating to the expulsion from

France of the Stuarts, and their most intimate friends, were conceded; the use of the old protocol which gave the King of France the title of King of the French, was consented to; and though maintaining the dignity of the crown of France, as to the question of precedence, in the preamble of the treaty, Mazarin added: "We ask for nothing better than to treat on equal terms with England, or even with the Protector himself, provided that he will assume the title of king; and then his Majesty will not hesitate to do him all the honour which the kings of France have been accustomed to do to those of England, and will also send him an ambassador extraordinary to congratulate him, if he desire it:"—an admirably flattering refusal, which, far from offending Cromwell, could not fail to please him![1]

Cromwell was neither offended nor pleased; he yielded on the question of precedence, but showed no greater haste to bring the treaty to a conclusion. In his heart, he daily inclined more and more towards France;—he knew well that a rupture with Spain would be inevitable, after the blow he was about to strike her, and the patience with which she endured its approach, freed him from alarm as to her anger when the event occurred. The offers of the Marquis of Leyden did not tempt him; on the two points on which England most strongly insisted, free navigation in the West Indies, and religious liberty for the

[1] Mazarin to Bordeaux, January 16, 1655; Letters from Bordeaux to Brienne, under various dates; Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France. See Appendix XV.

English merchants in Spain, the Court of Spain was inflexible. The words of Condé, and of his agents in London, inspired Cromwell with no confidence. "*Stultus est, et garrulus,*" he said one day to Stoupe, "*et venditur a suis cardinali.*" He was not ignorant that Spain, though she then supported the French malcontents, would never be to them a very helpful patron; she was in great want of money, and had much difficulty in sending to Condé, by the hands of Cardeñas, a sum of fifty thousand crowns.[1] He was anxious to have trustworthy information with regard to the feelings of the French Protestants, who, Condé said, were ready to rise in his favour; and Stoupe, by his order, travelled through France as a private individual, visiting the banks of the Loire, Bordeaux, Montauban, Nismes, and Lyons, conversing with the leading Protestants, and informing them of Cromwell's friendly feelings towards them. He found them, for the most part, determined to remain at peace; the edicts were observed,—they were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and left undisturbed in their business transactions; besides, they had a bad opinion of the Prince of Condé: "he is a man," they told Stoupe, "who seeks only his own glory, and is ready to sacrifice to it all his friends, and all the causes that he seems to embrace." Everything concurred to convince Cromwell that he had nothing to expect from Spain and the Frondeurs, and that France, Louis XIV., and Mazarin, possessing, as they did, greater power and ability, were far more formidable neigh-

[1] On the 14th of April, and 15th of July, 1655. See Appendix XVI.

bours, and would be more useful allies. He granted a solemn audience to the Marquis of Leyden, on the 16th of May, 1655; but the marquis quickly perceived that his embassy would lead to no result, and returned to Flanders. Cromwell ordered that he should be escorted with great pomp to Gravesend; and remained in the same passive attitude towards France, as he did not yet feel it necessary to declare himself, or enter into any more binding engagement. The court of France still inspired him, and the English public generally, with great distrust: most of the London merchants inclined towards Spain, with which country their trade was considerable. Besides, where would have been the advantage of deciding, before the issue of the American expedition became known? Spain would then break the peace herself, and a treaty with France would be concluded on the ground of necessity. Bordeaux shrewdly enough divined the causes of the Protector's tergiversations, and communicated his opinions very faithfully to his court. "The spirit of conquest, and the pretext of religion, influence him against Spain," he wrote to M. de Brienne, on the 1st of October, 1654; "his private inclinations, jealousy of our power, and the interest of the mercantile class, against France. The discontents which might arise in England, if one of the two crowns were his declared enemy, keep him in restraint at home; and confidence that we should not dare to break with him leads him to despise all the threats and entreaties that I could use to oblige him to alter his conduct towards us. This is the most natural

sketch I can give of the present disposition of his mind."[1]

An incident, which became European from the sensation which it everywhere created, though its operation was confined to an obscure Alpine district, furnished Cromwell with a fresh pretext for still further postponing any final settlement of the question. In the retirement of a few valleys of Piedmont dwelt a race of cultivators and herdsmen, who had been subject for centuries to the house of Savoy, but who had also for centuries been separate in faith and worship, from their fellow-subjects and sovereigns. It has been often discussed, though without leading to any certain solution of the question, what was the origin of the creed and name of the Vaudois: the Roman Church treated them as heretics; and in their turn, they accused the Roman Church of having ceased to be that primitive apostolic Church of which they regarded themselves as the faithful representatives. However this may be, they were a poor, simple, laborious, and pious race of men, passionately attached to their native mountains, their faith, and their pastors. They had, on various occasions, obtained from the Dukes of Savoy certain privileges which secured their religious and local liberties; and, from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, they had passed through frequent vicissitudes of toleration and

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 570, 613; Dumont's Corps Diplomatique Universel, vol. vi. part ii. p. 106; Burnet's History of His Own Time, vol. i. p. 134.

persecution, though they had been, on the whole, more often unmolested than disturbed in the practice of their worship, and the enjoyment of their rights. When the Reformation began, they regarded it but with little attention at first; they had no desire for change in their internal government, and the house of Savoy, whose princes were habitually prudent and benevolent towards their subjects, seldom interfered with their tranquillity. They had political reasons for treating them with forbearance; their valleys bordered on the French valleys of Dauphiné, peopled by mountaineers of the same origin, the same faith, and the same manners; their territory was usually passed through by the armies of France, in their expeditions into Italy; and the Kings of France had frequently taken occasion to show them favour, and sometimes even officially to protect them. On the 28th of September, 1571, less than a year before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, Charles IX. wrote to Duke Emmanuel Philibert, who at that time was treating the Vaudois with great severity:—"I am about to prefer to you a request, not an ordinary one, but as affectionate as any you could have from me; . . . for, during the troubles of war, passion does not permit us, any more than illness permits a sick man, to judge what is expedient; . . . and, as you have treated your subjects extraordinarily in this matter, be pleased now, for my sake, at my prayer and especial recommendation, to receive them into your benign favour, and to restore and re-establish them in their confis-

cated estates . . . This cause is so just in itself, and so full of affection on my part, that I am sure you will willingly grant my request."[1]

When the Reformation had made the conquest of half Europe, and kindled the fires of war and controversy in all minds and in all States, the Vaudois valleys felt the influence of this general agitation; theological polemics became more frequent among them, and preaching against the Roman Church more violent. The Vaudois pastors, known by the name of *Barbas*, a term of filial deference, were divided into two classes; the first stationary and attached to the different parishes, the others itinerant missionaries, who travelled through the various countries of Europe, into Italy, France, and Germany, southwards as far as the wilds of Calabria, and eastwards to the mouth of the Danube, for the purpose of teaching and preaching evangelical doctrine. At the close of the sixteenth and commencement of the seventeenth century, they introduced, on their return to their country, the movement which they had met with everywhere else; in those communes in which there was a mixed population of Catholics and Vaudois, religious dissensions became embittered; a longing to proclaim their faith and spread it far and wide around them, sprang up in the hearts of these mountaineers; they went into the neighbouring

[1] Léger's Histoire Générale des Eglises Evangéliques et des Vallées du Piémont; Morland's History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont; Muston's Israel des Alpes, Histoire Complète des Vaudois du Piémont, vol. ii. p. 109.

valleys, sometimes as visitors, and sometimes with a view to settlement, discussing and preaching with obstinate enthusiasm, animated by two powerful feelings which free and strong governments alone can afford to tolerate—the spirit of resistance and the spirit of propagandism.

In Catholic Piedmont, for the defence of the opposite cause, similar ardour was felt; the Roman Church, irritated and alarmed, commenced an active warfare against the Vaudois. She had on her side the legal power and the public passion of the country—the prince and the people. The Roman Propaganda undertook the conversion, and the court of Turin the subjugation, of the Vaudois; Catholic priests and doctors traversed their mountains; two voluntary associations, one of men, the other of women, were formed at Turin to second their efforts. A lady of high rank, the Marchesa de Pianezza, beautiful, accomplished, wealthy, and enthusiastic, devoted her time, fortune, and influence to this pious work; her husband, a stern and valiant officer, undertook to execute the wishes of his wife, the orders of his sovereign, and the dictates of his creed. The daughter of Henry IV., Christine of France, who was Regent of Piedmont, during the minority of her son, Charles Emmanuel II., lent them her support. The Vaudois also possessed, among the Piedmontese aristocracy, many benevolent patrons, who recommended the government to pursue towards them a moderate policy, and to respect their ancient liberties. For some years, and almost up to the last moment,

alternate edicts of toleration and severity, bore witness to the conflict of the two influences. But the spirit of religious tyranny gradually gained ground in the Piedmontese government; and the Vaudois, by their acts of imprudence or violence, frequently furnished it with pretexts, and sometimes with motives, for persecution. Young men, who were pursued for having insulted the priests, took refuge in the mountain fastnesses, where they lived the life of bandits, in revolt against law and order. In some of the valleys, at Villar, Bobi, and Angrogna, convents which had recently been established were burned to the ground; at Fénil the priest was assassinated. The mass of the Vaudois population deplored these crimes, and made sincere efforts to repress and atone for them, and to comply with the requirements of their sovereign; but subject as they were to incessant annoyance and insult in their feelings and rights, they were unwilling either to yield or defend themselves, and wearied the forced benevolence of their aristocratic protectors, who were alike powerless to prevent their faults and to restrain their enemies.

On the 25th of January, 1655, the storm which had long been gathering burst at length upon the Vaudois; they were ordered to evacuate within three days—on pain of death and the confiscation of their property—nine of the communes in which they resided. They were further enjoined to sell, within twenty days, the lands which they possessed in those communes, and to concentrate themselves and their property in four communes, in which alone their reli-

gion was thenceforward to be tolerated; and even in these, for the conversion of the Protestants, mass was to be celebrated every day, and whoever dissuaded a Protestant from becoming a Catholic was to be punished with death. The Vaudois, in consternation, protested against these severities, saying that they were ready to accept any conditions that might be imposed upon them, so long as liberty of conscience was left them; but if it had been determined to deprive them of it, they requested permission to leave the Duke of Savoy's dominions in a body. Their petition was received with some show of attention; negotiations were opened; a day of audience was assigned to their representatives at Turin; but on that very day, the 17th of April, 1655, the Marquis de Pianezza entered the Vaudois valleys with a considerable body of troops, to enforce the evacuation of the nine communes mentioned in the ducal decree. Some attempts at resistance led to a sanguinary conflict, and for eight days the Vaudois were given over to the violence and brutality of a fanatical and licentious soldiery, whose fury knew no bounds against vanquished heretics. The 24th of April, in particular, was, in this obscure spot, one of those days of massacre and outrage, the mere narrative of which, after the lapse of centuries, make humanity shudder with horror and compassion. I refrain from entering into its hideous details; but it is a source of satisfaction to quote the honest judgment passed on this occurrence, some months afterwards, by a brave French officer who was present. The regiment of

Grancey, which had been sent into Italy by Louis XIV., to the assistance of the Duke of Modena, had been stopped on its way, at the request of the Piedmontese authorities, and quartered in their territory, either for the purpose of intimidating the Vaudois, or of lending their oppressors armed assistance in case of need. The Captain du Petit-Bourg, who commanded the regiment, would not take the slightest share in the responsibility; and on the 27th of November following, at Pignerol, in the presence of two officers of the regiment of Sault and Auvergne, he signed this declaration:—"I, Lord of Petit-Bourg, first captain in command of the regiment of Grancey, having received orders to join the Marquis de Pianezza, and to take orders from him . . . was the witness of numerous acts of great violence and extreme cruelty, practised by the soldiers towards all ages, sexes, and conditions, whom I saw massacred, hanged, burned, and violated, and I also witnessed several terrible conflagrations. . . . When prisoners were brought to the Marquis de Pianezza, I saw the order that all were to be killed, because his highness would not have any of their religion in all his dominions . . . Insomuch that I formally deny, and protest before God, that none of the abovementioned cruelties were committed by my order; on the contrary, seeing that I could afford no remedy thereto, I was constrained to withdraw and to throw up the command of my regiment, in order that I might not assist in such wicked actions."[1]

[1] Léger's Histoire Générale des Eglises Vaudoises, part ii. p. 115; Muston's Israel des Alpes, vol. ii. pp. 329—331.

Cromwell had not waited for the occurrence of this terrible catastrophe before taking an interest in the Vaudois. Careful to keep himself acquainted with the condition of the Protestants in all countries, and to give them all proofs of his good-will, as well as of his power, he had been duly informed of the first measures adopted against them by the Duke of Savoy, and Thurloe had immediately written to John Pell, the English resident in Switzerland, to give him orders secretly to advise the Vaudois to appeal to the Protector, whose aid should not be denied them. When the news of the massacre in the valleys reached England it produced a general outburst of indignation and sympathy. Men listened to and repeated the lamentable story with angry curiosity. Detailed accounts were circulated all over the country, illustrated with little engravings, in which the most hideous scenes of the massacre were roughly depicted. Cromwell became the spokesman and the leader of the popular passion; Milton was immediately set at work; and, on the 25th of May, 1655, the Protector wrote to the Duke of Savoy himself, to Louis XIV., and to Cardinal Mazarin, to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, to the States-General of the United Provinces, and to the Swiss Cantons, and, finally to George Ragotzki, Prince of Transylvania, to demand for the Vaudois the justice of their own sovereign, and the protection of all sovereigns who were either Protestant themselves or admitted Protestants within their dominions.[1] Cromwell appointed the learned Samuel

[1] Milton's Prose Works, vol. v. pp. 247–258; Thurloe to John Pell, March 23, 1655, in Vaughan's Protectorate of Cromwell, vol. i. p. 158.

Morland, under secretary of the Council of State, his envoy extraordinary to convey to Louis XIV. and the Duke of Savoy the letters which he had addressed to them. At the same time he directed that a collection should be made throughout England for the relief of the unfortunate Vaudois, and headed the subscription with a gift of two thousand pounds from his own purse.

Cromwell's letters contained nothing which could render the mission of his envoy offensive to the sovereigns to whom they were addressed, or embarrassing to Morland himself. They were grave, precise, and urgent. Cromwell proclaimed in them the great principle of liberty of conscience, "which," he said, "is an inviolable right, over which God alone had any authority;" and he declared that "the calamities of the poor people of the Piedmontese valleys lay as near, or rather nearer to his heart, than if it had concerned the dearest relative he had in the world." In his letter to the Duke of Savoy, he insisted on the antiquity of the liberties which the Vaudois had enjoyed in his dominions, and on the faithful devotedness which they had always manifested to his family. In his letter to Louis XIV. he expressed his astonishment at the report which was current that French troops had taken part in the massacre of the valleys. He reminded the Protestant States, both kingdoms and republics, of the necessity of union and common action on behalf of all the Protestants in Europe, for the maintenance of their own safety no less than in the discharge of their duty as Christians. But no appearance of menace or bravado, no insolent provocation,

or seditious insinuation, was mingled with his remonstrances. His policy was decided and active, but restrained within the regular limits of diplomatic communications, and speaking in moderate, though clear and energetic language.[1]

Morland left London on the 26th of May, 1655, and on the 1st of June he arrived at La Fère, where Louis XIV. and Mazarin were then residing. He immediately delivered to them the Protector's letters; and three days after, he transmitted to Cromwell an answer from Louis XIV., in which that prince apologized for the use which had been made of his troops in Piedmont, announced that he had already sent to Turin to intercede in favour of the Vaudois, congratulated himself on having thus anticipated the Protector's wishes, and ended in these words: "You have well judged in this affair, not to believe that I had given any order to my troops to do such an execution as this was; for there was not any appearance such a suspicion could possess the spirit of any person well informed, that I should contribute to the chastisement of any subjects of the Duke of Savoy, professors of the pretended reformed religion, and yet in the mean time give so many marks of my good will to those of mine own subjects who are of the same profession, having also cause to applaud their fidelity and zeal for my service."[2]

At Turin, Morland's mission was of a more stormy

[1] See Appendix XVII.

[2] Louis XIV. to Cromwell, June 12, 1655; in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France; Morland's History of the Evangelical Churches of Piedmont, pp. 563—567. See Appendix XVIII.

character. On delivering to the Duke, on the 21st of June, in solemn audience, the Protector's letter, he accompanied it with a speech, the pathetic and uncomplimentary tone of which offended the Regent Christine, who was present at the interview. "I cannot," she said, "but extremely applaud the singular charity and goodness of his Highness the Lord Protector towards our subjects, whose condition has been represented to him as so exceeding sad and lamentable; but at the same time, I cannot but extremely admire that the malice of men should ever proceed so far as to clothe such fatherlike and tender chastisements of our most rebellious and insolent subjects with so black and ugly a character, in order to render us thereby odious to all neighbouring princes and States. I do not doubt, however, that when his Highness the Lord Protector shall be particularly and clearly informed of all passages, he will be so fully satisfied with the Duke's proceedings, that he will not give the least countenance to these disobedient subjects. For his Highness' sake, however, we will not only freely pardon them for the heinous crimes they have committed, but also accord to them such privileges and graces as cannot but give the Lord Protector a sufficient evidence of the great respect we bear both to his person and mediation." Following the example of the Regent, the Marquis de Saint-Thomas, Chief Secretary of State to the Duke of Savoy, and several of the chief men of his court, both lay and ecclesiastic, hospitably entertained Morland, loading him with politeness, and endeavouring, though

with but little success, to convince him of the falsity of the statements which had led to his mission. The French ambassador at Turin, M. Servien, spoke in a more sensible strain: "Duke Emmanuel Philibert," he said, "had made such concessions as were insisted on by the people, in the year 1651; and I do verily believe that his Royal Highness and his mother might easily be pacified towards them, and be inclined to accord to them the same and greater privileges than his royal ancestors had done, were there not some powerful persons in the court, whose zeal for the Catholic religion prompts them to make the worst constructions and representations of all things to their prince. However, I advise you by all means not to add fuel to the fire, but rather to endeavour to satisfy and appease his Highness the Lord Protector, by a sweet and moderate relation of all these proceedings." These were the instructions he had received from Mazarin. Morland sent his report to Cromwell, together with the Duke of Savoy's answer, full of justifications and reluctant promises; and he left Turin on the 19th of July, to proceed to Geneva, where he had orders to await further instructions from the Protector.[1]

In England, the public feeling on the subject still continued the same. Although the counties had not manifested so much enthusiasm as London, the collection for the relief of the Vaudois amounted to the sum of 38,241*l.*; popular indignation against the Catholics ran very high, and the mob seemed desirous

[1] Morland's History of the Evangelical Churches, pp. 567—579.

of avenging upon them the sufferings which the Protestants had to endure in other countries. The Commissioners appointed to negotiate with M. de Bordeaux informed him that the Protector would not sign the treaty until the Court of France had exerted all its influence at Turin to obtain the restoration of the Vaudois to their liberties. Cromwell still gave the most earnest and vigilant attention to this affair, and sometimes, with views favourable to the interests of France: his agent Stoupe, whom Mazarin had also taken into his service, for a pension of three hundred pounds a-year, one day intimated to M. de Bordeaux that the Protector might probably demand the cession of the Vaudois valleys to the King of France, which would become a pledge of close friendship between the two States. But it was in concert more frequently with the Protestant States of Europe that Cromwell sought to promote the cause of the Vaudois; he urged the United Provinces and the Swiss Cantons to prepare for war on their behalf; and he despatched a new envoy, Mr. George Downing, to Geneva, with instructions to advocate the adoption of energetic measures, and afterwards to proceed to Turin, with Morland and the ministers of Switzerland and Holland, in order to obtain some definite settlement of the business. His confidential friends mentioned Nice and Villafranca, in the Sardinian States, as points at which English troops might easily disembark.[1]

[1] Morland's History of the Evangelical Churches, pp. 584—596; Bordeaux to Brienne, May 27, June 3, 10, July 1, 8, 23, August 5, 26, 1655; Mazarin to Bordeaux, July 9, 1655, in the Archives des Affaires

These rumours, this imminency of war and fresh political complications, greatly disturbed Mazarin, who was always equally ready to fear and hope. Caring little for general ideas of right and liberty, he took no interest in the Vaudois, and if no one had interfered on their behalf, he would have preferred that they should have been repressed rather than tolerated; but he was a moderate and prudent statesman, and he never lost sight of the difficulties which obstinate violence might occasion. The growing influence of Cromwell on the Continent was regarded by him with suspicion; he dreaded that he might employ it to foment disturbances among the Protestants of France. Above all things, he ardently desired the conclusion of the treaty of peace which had been so long in negociation in London, and which, in his view, was destined to effect an intimate alliance between France and England, and which alone could enable France to gain a decisive victory in her contest with Spain. "The King," he wrote to M. de Bordeaux, on the 25th of May, 1655, "has commanded me to inform you that, if the Protector is willing, on the same day that we sign the accommodation, to commence another treaty of offensive and defensive alliance, you are ready to proceed with it; that you will even consent to insert, in the first treaty, an article pledging the contracting parties to a more intimate

Etrangères de France; Thurloe to John Pell, June 8, 29, July 7, 12, 20, 27, 28, 1655; Vaughan's Protectorate of Cromwell, vol. i. pp. 191, 206, 214, 219, 225, 227, 231; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 696. See Appendix XIX.

union, in accordance with conditions to be afterwards agreed upon, and which might really be arranged within twenty-four hours."[1] The affair of the Vaudois put an end to all this labour on the part of Mazarin, and delayed the realization of his hopes: he resolved to bring it at once to a conclusion; peremptory orders were sent to M. Servien, at Turin, to insist on an immediate pacification, and to declare that the King of France would withdraw his support from whichever party refused to consent to it; and on the 18th of August, 1655, a treaty of peace, known by the name of *Patentes de Grâce*, was signed at Pignerol, which put an end to the troubles in the valleys, annulled all prosecutions that had been commenced in reference thereto, and restored to the Vaudois their ancient privileges, namely —liberty of conscience, trade, and transit; under certain conditions, it is true, of considerable severity and harshness, which could not fail to give rise to new disturbances at a subsequent period, and from which Cromwell would probably have saved the Vaudois, if his agents had arrived in time to take part in the final negociations.[2]

The negociations were already concluded, and the treaty of Pignerol signed, when Downing, passing through France on his way to Geneva, had an inter-

[1] Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

[2] Mazarin to Bordeaux, August 19, 1655; in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France; Morland to John Pell, August 14, 1655; in Vaughan's Protectorate of Cromwell, vol. i. p. 256; Morland's History of the Evangelical Churches, pp. 613—669; Muston's Israel des Alpes, vol. ii. pp. 386, 395.

view, at La Fère, with Mazarin, who overwhelmed him with the politest attentions, placing his servants and carriages at his orders, and even sending him his own supper, with this complimentary message—"As it is too late for Mr. Downing to provide anything, I have sent him what was made ready for myself, and I will seek a supper elsewhere." The Cardinal conversed with Downing for nearly two hours. "Of all things in the world," he said, "I desire a right understanding with his highness the Lord Protector; I will do anything in my power to evidence it; if a strict alliance be made, nothing will be too hard for us, for I look upon it as necessary to us both. As for Charles Stuart and that family, they shall be of no more consideration than the brotherhood between the Queen of France is at present. As to the Protestants in France, as I have been their friend to keep them from wrong, since I have had the management of affairs here, so if there be anything that his Highness wishes to have done on their behalf, which is consistent with the honour of France, I will do it, though for my part, I have not interposed on behalf of the Catholics in England. The accommodation now in Piedmont is by my master's intercession."[1]

Cromwell was by no means pleased to hear that matter had been thus accommodated—that the envoys of Switzerland had acted in concert with the ambassadors of France, and that the Vaudois no longer needed his assistance. He received the news

[1] Downing to Thurloe, November 25, 1655; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 734.

of the pacification without pleasure, and his councillors more than once intimated to M. de Bordeaux that the Protector was fully aware of the reasons which had caused this eagerness to terminate, without his co-operation, an affair in which he had taken such deep interest.[1] But it was impossible for him to complain. Other intelligence now reached Cromwell, of more serious importance to himself, and which rendered Mazarin's friendship more valuable to him than he had hitherto considered it.

At the beginning of July, 1655, nothing further was known in London regarding Penn's squadron, than that it had arrived at Barbadoes, and sailed thence to the unknown place of its destination. Various rumours had been current about it, both in England and on the Continent: sometimes it was said to have attacked the French colonies, sometimes to have taken St. Domingo or Havanna: the greatest anxiety was felt regarding it, but the utmost uncertainty still prevailed as to its movements. Towards the end of July, an express messenger, coming by way of Ireland, brought a letter to the Protector, with whom Stoupe happened to be at the time. Cromwell read the letter, and immediately dismissed Stoupe, who went away with the conviction that he had received some bad news. He learned during the evening that his conjecture was well-founded, and sent

[1] Bordeaux to Brienne, September 16, October 7, 1655, in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France; Morland to Pell, August and September, 1655, and Thurloe to Pell and Morland, September 10 and 16, 1655, in Vaughan's Protectorate of Cromwell, vol. i. pp. 258, 264, 265, 268, 272. See Appendix XIX.

immediade information of it to his correspondent at Brussels; and the Spanish government learned by this means that the English expedition had disembarked at St. Domingo, and attempted to gain possession of the island, but that it had completely failed.[1]

When the expedition, towards the end of January, 1655, arrived at Barbadoes, an unfortunate misunderstanding had already arisen between the two commanders, the admiral and the general. Penn was a brave and experienced seaman, but very punctilious and easily offended; Venables, who had never held a chief command before, was jealous of his authority, uneasy about his responsibility, and but little loved by his men, who considered him indolent and avaricious. The recruits which the army obtained in the West Indies consisted chiefly of bankrupt colonists, broken Cavaliers, and foreign adventurers; an undisciplined mob, who were more intent on pushing their own fortune than on achieving success in their enterprise, or maintaining the honour of their flag. The provisions which the fleet was to take on board at Barbadoes had not arrived on the 31st of March, when she was obliged to set sail. In obedience to Cromwell's orders, the commanders had waited until they reached the West Indies before they opened the instructions which informed them of the precise object of their expedition. On the 14th of April, the squadron, with nearly

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 417, 434, 623, 636, 662; Vaughan's Protectorate of Cromwell, vol. i. pp. 219, 229; Burnet's History of His Own Time, vol. i. p. 139.

nine thousand troops on board, appeared in sight off the south-east coast of St. Domingo. A council was held on board to arrange the plan of attack: it appeared that, by landing all their forces at the same point, near the town of St. Domingo, and falling unexpectedly upon it, they could hardly fail to gain possession of it; but the admiral, the general, and Commissary Winslow, who was associated with them in the conduct of the expedition, could not come to an agreement on this point. The troops were divided into two bodies: a small detachment, under Colonel Buller, disembarked near the town; the main body, under General Venables, landed at a distance of more than twelve leagues; and it was hoped by this means to distract the attention and divide the force of the Spaniards. But when Venables attempted to rejoin Buller, a three days' march under a burning sun, sometimes over sandy plains, and sometimes through dense jungle, with the accompaniments of thirst, bad food, and excessive fatigue, spread ill-humour, discouragement, and dysentery among the troops. On the 18th of April, having effected a junction and set themselves in movement to attack the place, the two detachments suddenly fell into an ambuscade. The Spaniards concealed in the ravines and thickets, kept up a deadly fire on the English, who were utterly unable to discover their invisible foes. Several officers were killed, the soldiers murmured, and refused to proceed; the hesitation became general; and, instead of advancing, it was determined to fall back on the nearest point of embarkation, and send to

the fleet for provisions and reinforcements. It was not until eight days later, on the 25th of April, after blunderings which disgraced the leaders and disheartened the soldiers, that the army once more began its march to St. Domingo; but on the very next day, in passing through a narrow defile, the vanguard fell into a fresh ambuscade, and was at once thrown into disorder: in vain did a few brave men expose themselves, the cowards fell back on the cavalry, who, in their turn, fell back on the main body, at the head of which was the general's own regiment. The fugitives blocked up the pass in their haste to escape; and but for the energy of brave Major-General Heane, who was killed, with his best officers, in a desperate but glorious attempt to cover this disgraceful retreat, the Spaniards would have destroyed the entire English army. They retreated on this occasion to their most distant landing-place; and there, deliberations and communications were renewed between the army and fleet. Penn made no attempt to conceal his contemptuous censure: Venables to clear himself from blame, cashiered Adjutant-General Jackson for misconduct, and hanged some of the fugitives: Commissary Winslow fell ill and died. Amid this general disorder, it was unanimously agreed that it would be useless to attempt a third attack on St. Domingo. What was to be done after such a defeat? and how could they consent to do nothing after such great preparations? How could they return to England, and face the Protector, without having at least some victory to allege in their own vindication? The idea

occurred to some one of them to seek another conquest in those seas. On the 3rd of May, the fleet, having taken the troops on board once more, sailed from St. Domingo; on the 9th, it appeared before Jamaica, an island far less known and less important than the other, but yet of great extent and fertility. On the following day, a landing was effected, the town was taken, and the Spanish population, who were far from numerous, fled to the mountains. Having thus made a conquest, a portion of the English army was left to garrison the island: twelve ships, under the command of Vice-Admiral Goodson, were stationed along the coast; and towards the end of June, within a few days of each other, Penn and Venables returned to England, where they arrived, the former on the 31st of August, and the latter on the 9th of September, preceded by long apologies for their failure, and very uneasy as to the reception they would meet with from the Protector.[1]

Cromwell sent them both to the Tower for having returned home without orders, and announced his intention to institute a strict examination into their conduct, and, if necessary, to bring them to trial. The failure of their enterprise was a bitter disappointment to him, for he now found himself involved in war with Spain, and had commenced it with a defeat, instead of the brilliant success he had anticipated.

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 249—252, 411, 504—508, 509, 545, 646, 689, 755; Memorials of Sir William Penn, vol. ii. pp. 30—132; Harleian Tracts, vol. iii. pp. 510—523; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 189—203.

He felt it keenly. His enemies took no pains to dissemble their joy: most of his advisers declared at once that they had always disapproved of the expedition; and the examination of Penn and Venables before the Council of State, made it evident that the leaders, whom Cromwell had chosen, were unfit for their post, and that the equipment and supply of the fleet, which he had intrusted to his brother-in-law, Desborough, had not been carefully attended to. Whenever additional details on the subject reached him, Cromwell shut himself up in a room by himself to read them, and could hardly be induced to speak on the matter even to his most trusted friends. His health even seemed to suffer in consequence. "This want of success," wrote Bordeaux to Brienne, on the 21st of October, 1655, "is the principal cause of the Protector's indisposition, if the physician who formerly gave me faithful accounts of his illnesses, is now equally sincere; he assures me that instead of the rumour being true, that he is afflicted by the stone, it is only a bilious colic, which occasionally flies to the brain; and that grief often persecutes him more than either of these, as his mind is not yet accustomed to endure disgrace."[1] But neither this internal agitation, nor his threats of severe punishment of the leaders of the expedition, were of long duration; Cromwell was quick in recovering from painful impressions, always ready to look on the bright side of events, and kindly towards his servants. The disastrous narratives that had come from the army and fleet were suppressed;

[1] Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

and great stress was laid on the importance of Jamaica, the third of the West Indian isles. Measures were immediately taken for turning its fertility to advantage, and regulating its government. It was even proposed that Lambert should be sent thither as governor; but this proposition was doubtless made rather with a view to enhance the value of the conquest, than with any expectation that he would accept it. Disappointment at the past gave way to cares for the future. Preparations were commenced, in the various ports, for fitting out another expedition to the West Indies; and after a few weeks of detention and examination, Penn and Venables were liberated from the Tower, disgraced, but not prosecuted.[1]

Spain and France, Cardeñas and Bordeaux, helped Cromwell to forget his disappointment in the pressure of business. In announcing to his Court the failure of the expedition against St. Domingo, Cardeñas denounced the Protector in the harshest terms, characterizing his action as one "of infamous malignity and abominable perfidy;" but at the same time, feeling, doubtless, desirous to remain as ambassador in London, he endeavoured to prevent the two nations from coming to open war, and even to renew negotiations of alliance between France and England; "for," he said, "it would be a great advantage to your Majesty that these differences should be accommodated at the outset, and that the Protector should abandon his evil

[1] On the 25th of October, 1655. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. pp. 1, 6, 21, 22, 28, 38, 177; Memorials of Sir William Penn, vol. ii. pp. 134—142; Don Alonzo de Cardeñas to King Philip IV., December 30, 1655, in the Archives of Simancas.

designs."[1] Bordeaux, on his side, hastened to state to the Commissioners, with whom he was negotiating, that "the King, his master, still entertained the same sentiments, and that, if the Protector would make overtures to him, he would meet with every readiness to come to terms."[2] The Court of Madrid acted more worthily than its ambassador: on learning what had occurred at St. Domingo, it conferred the title of marquis and a pension of five thousand ducats on the governor of the island; laid a general embargo on the ships and property of the English merchants in Spain; threw several of them into prison; and sent orders to Cardeñas to demand an audience to take leave, and to quit London immediately.[3] Mazarin and Brienne were a little less hasty than Bordeaux, and seemed inclined to think that, after the defeat which Cromwell had just experienced, they would be able to treat with him on better terms.[4] But Cromwell easily discerned, in spite of these marks of hostility and their indisposition to make advances, that the Court of Spain feared him, and the Court of France needed his alliance; he was haughty in his demeanor towards Bordeaux, and rough to Cardeñas. "I have just been informed," wrote Bordeaux to Brienne, on the 30th of September, 1655, "that the Council considered that

[1] Cardeñas to King Philip IV., August 12, September 6, and October 4; 1655; in the Archives of Simancas.

[2] Bordeaux to Brienne, September 30, 1655; in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

[3] Instructions to Cardeñas, September, 1655; in the Archives of Simancas; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. pp. 19, 21, 24, 45.

[4] Brienne to Mazarin, October 7, 1655; in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

they would be acting meanly if, after the disgrace they have suffered in the Indies, they were to come to me to propose a peace; and that, now there no longer remains any obstacle to our treaty, it was for me to propose its signature if my orders continued unchanged."[1] Bordeaux demanded that the treaty should be signed; and as soon as Cromwell knew that he was fully determined to do so, he sent Cardeñas his passports, with orders to leave England within four days, and placed a frigate at his disposal for his conveyance home.[3] Cardeñas embarked at Dover on the 24th of October, 1655, and on the same day the treaty of peace and commerce between France and England was finally signed. "Our conference," wrote Bordeaux to Brienne, on the following day, "ended in the expression of mutual wishes that the treaty might for ever re-establish true friendship between the two nations. If it have lost its gracefulness by its long postponement, it would seem that the rupture with Spain is likely to lend it new charms."[3] On the 28th of November following, the treaty with France and the declaration of war against Spain were solemnly proclaimed in the streets of London.[4] About six weeks afterwards Bordeaux took leave of the Protector, as he was about to spend a few months in

[1] Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

[2] Cardeñas to King Philip IV., Dover, November 8, 1653; in the Archives of Simancas.

[3] Bordeaux to Brienne, November 4, 1655; in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France. See Appendix XX.

[4] Cromwelliana, p. 154; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 215.

Paris;[1] and on the 30th of December, 1655, Cromwell completed the official connexion between the two States. He appointed his nephew, Sir William Lockhart, to be his ambassador at the Court of Louis XIV. A few months later, in order to remove every pretext of distrust, by the faithful execution of the treaty, Barrière, the agent of the Prince of Condé, was requested to leave England, and he was refused the use of a frigate, which he had demanded, in order to surround his departure with some éclat.[2]

As soon as it became known that the rupture between Cromwell and the Court of Madrid was complete, all the enemies of the Protector, both royalists and republicans, in England and on the Continent, set themselves in movement to take advantages of the chances offered them by this new posture of affairs. Ever since his return to Cologne, after the failure of the insurrection fomented and abandoned by his favourite Rochester, Charles II. had resided there in poverty, idleness, and despondency, incessantly seeking assistance from all the sovereigns of Europe, and even from the Pope himself; recklessly pledging his faith and future power in public to the Protestants, and in secret to the Catholics, as his necessities dictated, and licentiously devoting himself to his pleasures and his mistresses, from whose arms his honest advisers, Hyde and Ormonde, had great difficulty in tearing him once a week, in order to induce

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 146.
[2] Ibid., vol. iv. p. 757.

him to attend to his affairs. His interest in them revived in some degree when he began to hope that Spain, having quarrelled with Cromwell, might at length lend him some assistance. At the suggestion of some of his partizans he proceeded, without retinue, to Brussels, to confer on this subject with the Archduke Leopold and the Count de Fuensaldagna, who had not yet resigned the government of the Spanish Netherlands to Don John of Austria and the Marquis de Carracena. At the same time there also arrived in Flanders a man who was, perhaps, Cromwell's most inveterate enemy—Colonel Sexby, a stern, morose, and indefatigable republican, who, for the last year, had been travelling incessantly between London and Brussels, Brussels and Madrid, Madrid and Paris, offering his services wherever he went to get rid of the Protector, and seeking accomplices for conspiracy, insurrection, war, and assassination in all directions. He had been one of the first to inform the Spanish government of the English expedition against St. Domingo, and this had gained him a little money and credit at Madrid. He now came from London, whither he had gone to continue the preparations of his eternal plot, escaping all the researches of Cromwell's police, who had seized a portion of his money, but had been unable to capture his person. Don Alonzo de Cardeñas, who had been residing at Brussels since the termination of his embassy, and who believed that the republicans were much stronger in England than the royalists, knew Sexby, and was fully cognizant of his intrigues. Charles II. was

urged to see him; his gravest counsellors, who had by this time rejoined him, were of this opinion also; and the two exiles had a meeting at Bruges, where they conversed long and anxiously about their affairs. Agreeing, at least in appearance, as to their object, they differed greatly as to the means to be pursued for attaining it. Sexby required that the king should keep silence, refrain from putting himself forward, and rest satisfied with giving secret assistance to the conspirators, who would undertake to get up an insurrection in England, to possess themselves of a port, and then, if necessary, to open an entrance into the country to an army of royalists and Spaniards. Charles and counsellors had but little faith in Sexby's promises, and little inclination to trust the royal fortune to republicans. But among exiles and conspirators common necessities and animosities remove all objections and screen all falsehoods. The King and the Leveller fraternized and acted in concert, both at Brussels and Madrid, in order to obtain effectual support from Spain, and in England, in order to arrange a great rebellion.[1]

The Court of Spain accepted these allies, but with hesitation and reluctance; it had decided upon war against Cromwell, at the last extremity, and with unfeigned regret; it had no wish to engage irretrievably and desperately in hostilities with the

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 182—186, 237, 278, 279; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 159, 170, 180; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. pp. 37, 100, 169, 178, 319, 349, vol. vi. pp. 829—833, vol. vii. p. 325; Carte's Ormonde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 85—103; Cardeñas to Philip IV., December 23, 1655, in the Archives of Simancas.

Commonwealth. It was in want of money, even to commence operations. Its ministers in the Netherlands would not permit Charles II. to fix his residence either at Brussels or Antwerp; they wished him to return to Cologne, and he had great difficulty in obtaining leave to reside, with a small retinue, at Bruges. At every step in the negociation, it was necessary to await orders from Madrid; and from Madrid the constant order was to avoid precipitation and publicity: they promised to support Charles, but not to avow his cause openly. Like Sexby, the Spaniards requested him to remain in the background, and to commend them to his friends, without committing to them his standard. Charles, on the contrary, was convinced that, for the achievement of success, as well as for the maintenance of his own dignity, the declared friendship and public demonstration of the Court of Spain were indispensable; the royalists of England will not move, he said, unless they find themselves strongly supported; but they would rise all over the country, by land and by sea, if the King of Spain were to proclaim himself the friend and ally of their King. After many protracted conferences, and much lengthy correspondence, and notwithstanding the opposition of the Council of State, at Madrid, a treaty of alliance was finally concluded, on the 12th of April, 1656, between the two kings; Philip IV. promised Charles II. a body of six thousand men, and an annual pension of ten thousand guineas for himself and his younger brother, the Duke of Gloucester, who was living with him, on condition that, on his side, Charles should

raise among his subjects four regiments, of which the colonels were immediately appointed; that he should summon beneath his standard the Irish who had enlisted in the service of France; and that, with these united forces, he should effect a landing in England, as soon as such an enterprise could be attempted with any chance of success.[1]

Although these mutual promises were executed, on both sides, with great incompleteness and delay, Cromwell and Mazarin were alarmed. It was a serious matter for Cromwell, that one of the great sovereigns of the Continent, who had recently been so indifferent to the cause of Charles II., should have now become his declared and active ally. What would it serve the Protector that he had drained Ireland of royalist soldiers, if they were soon to be assembled again in Flanders, under the banners of the exiled King? With the help of Spain, their embarkation was possible; and if an invasion were effected from without, an insurrection would assuredly take place within the country. Mazarin, on his side, was desirous to retain the Irish regiments in the service of France, and was greatly displeased to find them ready to disband, and even to march in a body into the Spanish Netherlands, at the call of their King. An expedient occurred to the minds of these two crafty politicians, which might deliver them, in part

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 184–186; Cardeñas to Philip IV., March 25, July 29, 1656; the Archduke Leopold to Philip IV., April 8, 1656; Deliberations of the Spanish Council of State, May 7, September 19, and December 16, 1656; in the Archives of Simancas. See Appendix XXI.

at least, from their anxieties. The brother of Charles II., the Duke of York, had been serving, for four years, in the French army; he had earned great distinction by his bravery and military strictness; and he was regarded with esteem by Turenne, who lost no opportunity of expressing his high opinion of him. In pursuance of the treaty of the 24th of October preceding, that Prince was to be sent out of France; but, on the contrary, why should he not be allowed to remain there? He strongly desired to remain, and the Queen-mother desired it still more; he would thus be kept separate from his brother and from Spain: perhaps, in imitation of his example, and by means of his influence, the Irish regiments would remain in the service of Louis XIV. Mazarin sounded Cromwell on this subject, and he gladly fell in with the idea: it suited them both thoroughly, both in substance and in appearance. Mazarin, by treating with kindness one of those proscribed princes whom he had recently been constrained to abandon, gave pleasure to both his King and Queen, did a secret service to Cromwell, and kept in his hand an instrument which might one day be useful. Cromwell proved his generosity by consenting to the plan, and at the same time divided the forces of his enemies. But in order to obtain success in this scheme, it was necessary to create some dispute between the two brothers, which would prevent them from combining and acting together: an intrigue managed by the skilful hands of Mazarin, temporarily produced this result. In consequence of certain pretensions and domestic

dispute which arose between the servants of the two Princes, the Duke of York, who, in obedience to the orders of Charles II., had gone to join him at Bruges, escaped one day from Flanders, and passed into Holland, in order to return into France through Germany. It was believed that the two brothers had quarrelled irreconcileably; and on the 26th of December, 1656, Cromwell wrote to Mazarin:—"I must return your Eminency thanks for your judicious management of our weightiest affair; an affair wherein your Eminency is concerned, though not in equal degree and measure with myself. I must confess that I did fear that the Duke had condescended to his brother. But if I am not mistaken in his character, as I received it from your Eminency, that fire which is kindled between them will not ask bellows to blow it and keep it burning . . . The obligations and many instances of affection which I have received from your Eminency, do engage me to make returns suitable and commensurate to your merits; but although I have this set home upon my spirit, yet I may not (shall I tell you I cannot?), at this juncture of time, and as the face of my affairs now stands, answer to your call for toleration. I believe, however, that under my government, your Eminency, in behalf of the Catholics, has less reason for complaint as to rigour upon men's consciences, than under the Parliament. Truly, I have plucked many out of the fire—the raging fire of persecution, which did tyrannise over their consciences, and encroached by an arbitrariness of power upon their estates. And

herein it is my purpose, as soon as I can remove impediments, and some weights that press me down, to make a farther progress, and discharge my promise to your Excellency; but I cannot now give a public declaration of my sense in that point."[1]

Mazarin would have been glad if, in return for his good offices, Cromwell had not compelled him to receive his ambassador Lockhart in Paris. He was at every moment beside him, a troublesome witness of his tergiversations, his double manœuvres, and his coquettings with the enemies of the Protector. As he was less powerful at Court than in the Council, he was afraid that in that gay scene there might be scandal spoken, insults offered, thoughtless or premeditated impertinences committed, perhaps even attacks made, of which the ambassador of the regicide usurper would be the subject and victim. Bordeaux, on his return to London, in April, 1656, had orders to use all his efforts to prevent Lockhart's departure; but it was in vain; and when, after insinuations which no one would understand, he ventured to speak to Thurloe of the inconveniences which might attend such an embassy, "the secretary," he says, "after giving me very patient attention, told me that its sole object was a desire to confirm to his Majesty the sentiments which the Protector had expressed to me here; that propriety would not permit them to

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. pp. 735, 736; Memoirs of James II, vol. i. p. 373; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 318; Bordeaux to Mazarin, April 10, 1656; Mazarin to Bordeaux, April 26, 1656; in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France. See Appendix XXII.

alter a resolution which had once been adopted; and that, as joy had been felt on my return here, so Colonel Lockhart would doubtless find a similar feeling in Paris." Mazarin resigned himself to his fate, but not, as he usually did, with courtesy and compliments. Lockhart, who arrived in Paris at the beginning of May, met at first with a cool, and sometimes even disagreeable reception; but he was as adroit as he was high-spirited, and he spoke in the name of a powerful master of whom the Cardinal had need. He quickly surmounted the difficulties of his position, and became the object of Mazarin's caresses, who was too able a statesman not to feel how important it was to secure the good will of a man of such capacity, and so much influence with the Protector. It is part of the consummate art of great politicians to treat matters simply and frankly when they know they are in presence of rivals who will allow themselves to be neither intimidated nor deceived. Mazarin possessed this art, and Cromwell almost always reduced him to this necessity. There was, between these two men, a constant interchange of concessions and resistances, services and refusals, in which they ran little risk of quarrelling, for they mutually understood each other, and did not require from one another anything which could not be granted, without doing them greater injury than the grant would have done them service. The Protector would have been glad for the Cardinal to have furnished him with money for the vigorous execution of his enterprises against Spain in America; but Mazarin,

who could see no advantage to France or himself in such a course, formally declined all proposals of this nature; and Cromwell was not offended. Mazarin, who, in reality, was desirous to arrive at peace with Spain as well as with England, and who was already preparing the way for the Treaty of the Pyrenees, sent M. de Lionne to Madrid, in June, 1656, to open negociations; and Cromwell, who had just been treating with France as to the basis of their common war against Spain, was somewhat suspicious of this proceeding; but Mazarin clearly explained to Lockhart the motives which had led to this mission, and the circumstances which rendered it almost impossible for peace to ensue from it. Lockhart saw his meaning, and communicated it to Cromwell; M. de Lionne returned from his embassy without having accomplished any result; and far from having been shaken by this temporary distrust, the union between the Cardinal and the Protector was strengthened and confirmed. They both judged wisely of their mutual necessities and powers, and maintained, with somewhat suspicious independence, the policy which they had adopted in common.[1]

Cromwell, by that policy, had achieved greatness in Europe, and his greatness was not contested on the Continent as it was in England, for it rested, abroad,

[1] Bordeaux to Brienne, May 1—29, 1656; the same to the same, April 10, 1656; Bordeaux to Mazarin, April 10, 1656; Mazarin to Bordeaux, April 26, 1656, in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. pp. 739, 759, 771, vol. v. pp. 8, 32, 36, 131, 210, 217, 317, 318, 319, 368; Dumont's Histoire des Traités de Paix, vol. i. p. 606. See Appendix XXII.

on skilful and successful power, unstained by crime or tyranny. If he had not always scrupulously respected the law of nations, he had at least done nothing to reveal a limitless and unbridled ambition; though raised to power by a revolution, he had not sought to revolutionise even those States with which he was on hostile terms; he had been by turns peaceful and warlike, and more frequently peaceful than warlike; with the exception of the defeat at St. Domingo, and that had led to a useful conquest, he had succeeded in all his undertakings. He was bound by sincere friendship to all the Protestant States, in active alliance with the most powerful of Catholic sovereigns —everywhere present, influential, respected, and feared. External testimonies of the respect which his name and powers inspired, reached him from all parts; independently of the foreign ministers who habitually resided at his Court, ambassadors extraordinary were sent from Sweden, Poland, Germany, and Italy, solemnly to present him with the homage or overtures of their masters. Medals, sometimes of quaintly coarse design, were struck in Holland, to celebrate his glory, and humble kings before him. An equestrian portrait of him was displayed in the streets of Paris, accompanied by some disrespectful verses regarding the princes of the Continent.[1] The Grand Duke of Tuscany sent to request his portrait for the picture-gallery of his palace at Florence;[2] and the Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Sagredo, who had come to

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 502, 540.
[2] Dixon's Life of Blake, p. 294.

London from Paris, thus wrote on the 6th of October, 1656, in the peculiar style of his age and country: "I am now in England: the aspect of this country is very different from that of France; here we do not see ladies going to court, but gentlemen courting the chase; not elegant cavaliers, but cavalry and infantry; instead of music and ballets, they have trumpets and drums; they do not speak of love, but of Mars; they have no comedies, but tragedies; no patches on their faces, but muskets on their shoulders; they do not neglect sleep for the sake of amusement, but severe ministers keep their adversaries in incessant wakefulness. In a word, everything here is full of disdain, suspicion, and rough menacing faces. . . King Charles was too good for such bad times. Cromwell has expelled the Parliament; he speaks and he alone; he has the authority of a king, though he has not the name. His title is that of Protector, but he is destroying the nobility. Such a number of troops secure his power, but they ruin and overburden the country. All pay is for the soldiers. The machine is strong, but I do not think it durable; it works too violently."[3]

Cromwell himself, in the midst of his power and glory, felt that his position was not secure, and longed to change it; for more than eighteen months he had governed alone and arbitrarily; his strong good sense warned him that absolute power soon wears itself out; and that, even though blessed with good fortune, no man can long govern in isolation and without sup-

[1] Lettere Inedite di Messer Giovanni Sagredo, p. 29 (Venice, 1839).

porters. The war with Spain had already involved him, and threatened to involve him still more deeply, in expenses which he would be unable to meet without fresh taxes. He perceived the necessity of his position; and he believed that, after so many successes, the day had come for establishing a legal and durable order of things: he convoked another Parliament.

BOOK VIII.

PROGNOSTICS OF A NEW PARLIAMENT — VANE'S PAMPHLET—THE ELECTIONS —CROMWELL'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE SESSION—EXCLUSION OF NEARLY A HUNDRED MEMBERS—SUCCESS OF THE ENGLISH FLEET OFF CADIZ—THOROUGH ADHERENCE OF THE PARLIAMENT TO CROMWELL—PROPOSITIONS AND INTRIGUES TO MAKE CROMWELL KING—THE HUMBLE PETITION AND ADVICE—FAILURE OF THE ATTEMPT—NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE PROTECTORATE—CLOSE OF THE SESSION—MANŒUVRES OF CROMWELL—DEATH OF BLAKE—SECOND SESSION OF THE PARLIAMENT IN TWO HOUSES—QUARREL BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES—CROMWELL DISSOLVES THE PARLIAMENT—AGITATION OF PARTIES—ROYALIST AND REPUBLICAN PLOTS—CROMWELL'S ACTIVE ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE—HIS SUCCESSES ON THE CONTINENT—CAPTURE OF MARDYKE AND DUNKIRK—EMBASSY OF LORD FAULCONBRIDGE TO PARIS, AND OF THE DUKE DE CREQUI TO LONDON—CROMWELL CONTEMPLATES THE CONVOCATION OF A NEW PARLIAMENT—DECLINE OF HIS HEALTH—HIS FAMILY—HIS MOTHER, WIFE, AND CHILDREN—DEATH OF HIS DAUGHTER, LADY CLAYPOLE—ILLNESS OF CROMWELL—STATE OF HIS MIND—HIS DEATH—CONCLUSION.

Some months before adopting this resolution, either from premeditation or instinct, Cromwell had done an act which revealed his intention to call upon the country to support his power. On the 14th of March, 1656, he published a proclamation ordaining a general fast and public prayers throughout England, for the purpose of invoking a blessing from on high on his government, and beseeching "the Lord to discover the Achan, who had so long obstructed the settlement

of these distracted kingdoms."[1] Such ceremonies were then so frequent that they often passed unnoticed, as simple manifestations of ordinary and official piety. But the most eminent of the republican leaders, Sir Harry Vane, did not mistake the meaning of the present solemnity. Ever since the establishment of the Protectorate, he had lived in retirement at his favourite residence, Belleau, in Lincolnshire; a stranger, in appearance at least, to the intrigues of his party, and to all active opposition. When, however, he saw the Protector addressing himself to the people, and announcing, though remotely, his intention to solicit their aid, he resolved to enter the field once more; and in April or May, 1656, he published a pamphlet entitled, "A Healing Question, propounded and resolved, upon occasion of the late public and seasonable call to humiliation, in order to love and union amongst the honest party; and with a desire to apply balsam to the wound, before it become incurable."

It was a brief, firm, and clear exposition of the essential principles of republican government, as they were understood by Vane and his friends: the complete and absolute sovereignty of the people, as the sole source of all power; a Parliament consisting of one single assembly, as the only representative of the people, and alone in possession of the government; liberty of conscience, a sacred right, laid down as a fundamental maxim, without, however, explicitly in-

[1] Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. iii. p. 164; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. p. 260.

cluding, or formally excluding, the Catholics or Episcopalians; the exclusive reservation of political rights, for an indeterminate time, to the partizans of the good cause, that is, of the revolution; the appointment of a Council of State for life, under the control and by the choice of the Parliament; and perhaps, if circumstances required, the investiture of a single man with the executive power:—such was the plan of conciliation proposed by Vane to England and to the Protector. To obtain its acceptance by those whose co-operation was evidently indispensable to him, he spoke of the army in flattering terms, saying, "it was in the hands of an honest and wise general, and sober faithful officers; and he exhorted the soldiers to embody with the rest of the party of honest men, and espouse the same cause, acting in their primitive simplicity, humility, and trust." But beside these hypocritical compliments, were bitter words regarding the danger incurred by public liberties, when their "fair branches are planted on the root of a private and selfish interest; whence sprung the evil of that government which rose in and with, the Norman conquest." The whole pamphlet was a singular compound of lofty sentiments and narrow ideas, patriotic sincerity, and blind attachment to unpractical and factious opinions. Vane proposed to establish a government in England, by excluding from it all those great powers, whether ancient or modern, vanquished or victorious, which had ever exercised powerful sway over English society. He outlawed the royalist as well as Charles Stuart himself; and

he called upon Cromwell and his officers either to join the republican clique whom they had formerly expelled, or to abdicate.[1]

There was nothing in this to give Cromwell any new information as to the feelings of his enemies, or to turn him aside from his own firm purpose. The assembling of a Parliament was resolved upon; the writs, issued on the 10th of July, 1656, appointed the elections to take place in August, and fixed the opening of Parliament for the 17th of September following. Great agitation immediately spread throughout England; parties were held in strong restraint, but they were living and ready to start into activity as soon as the slightest movement was allowed them. Vane's pamphlet, though written with no great vigour or brilliancy, was eagerly read. "Sir Harry Vane," wrote Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, on the 16th of June, 1656, "hath lately put forth a new form of government, plainly laying aside thereby that which now is. At the first coming out of it, it was applauded; but now, upon second thoughts, it is rejected as being impracticable, and aiming in truth at the setting up the Long Parliament again. But all men judge that he hath some very good hopes, that he shows so much courage. It doth certainly behove us to have a watchful eye upon that interest." A second pamphlet entitled, "England's Remembrancer, or a word in season to all Englishmen, respecting the

[1] Vane's Pamphlet, as reprinted entire in the Somers' Tracts, vol. vi. pp. 303–315, and in the Appendix to the third volume of Mr. Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth.

ensuing elections," which appeared soon after, greatly increased the excitement of the public and the anxiety of the government. In a few simple and practical pages, the writer advocated the most open and earnest opposition. "It may be," he said, "that some of you tender-hearts, being troubled at what hath been done by the Lord Protector (so-called), are afraid to vote in the choice of your deputies, lest you should seem thereby to approve his power. But if a thief should stop your way to your own house for a time, and afterwards bid you go home, would any of you scruple to go home because the thief had before exercised a power to which he had no right?" And after giving the electors the most energetic advice, he thus concluded:—"What shall I say more to you, dear Christians and countrymen?—Do not the cries of the widows and the fatherless speak?—Do not your imprisoned friends speak?—Do not your banished neighbours speak?—Do not your infringed rights speak?—Do not your invaded properties speak?—Do not your gasping liberties speak?—Do not all our ruins, at home and abroad, by land and sea, speak to you?—Surely they have loud voices; surely they do daily cry in your ears, help! help! or England perishes!"[1]

This second pamphlet was also attributed to Vane, though on unsufficient evidence; but whoever may have been its author, it produced the most astonishing effect. It was distributed in all the towns, hawked through the country districts, and crowds assembled

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. pp. 123, 149, 176, 268, 317; Carte's Ormonde Letters, vol. ii. p. 109; Burton's Diary, vol. i. p. cxlv.

to hear it read. Cromwell felt himself once more in presence of that popular excitement which he had, during his life, so often kindled and checked; and he did not hesitate to engage at once in an ardent conflict with his enemies. When he ordered the elections, he had reckoned on the influence of his Major-generals; they held the whole country under their power; and they had at their command, in every district, obedient soldiers and devoted agents. Pressing instructions were sent to them. The distributors of pamphlets were arrested. The principal republican leaders, Bradshaw, Ludlow, Rich, and Vane himself, were ordered to appear before the Council of State; the summons addressed to Vane was couched in the rudest terms, without the slightest manifestation of politeness or respect; it simply stated, "You are to attend before the Council of State on the 12th of August next." There was evidently a determination to wage a deadly warfare, by all possible means, against the opposition.[1]

Vane who was not fond of danger, although, from conscientious motives, he never shrank from braving it, believed that he had taken means to screen himself from any such violence. Before publishing his pamphlet, he had sent a copy of it to Fleetwood, in order to show the Protector a mark of deference which, if occasion required, he might afterwards use to his own advantage. Fleetwood returned it to him, after the

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. pp. 272, 342, 328, 349; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. iii. p. 171; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. p. 272.

lapse of a month, without any observation, and probably without having mentioned it to Cromwell, lest he might compromise himself by the proceeding. Vane then published his work; and in a postscript, without naming Fleetwood, he stated that he had taken the precaution of submitting it to a member of the Council. When he received the summons to appear before the Council, feeling almost as surprised at the act itself, as wounded by the offensive form in which it was conveyed, he replied, "It was against the laws and liberties of England that any of the people thereof should be commanded by the king (when there was one) to attend him at his pleasure, unless they were bound thereunto by especial services. It will, I hope be permitted me, without offence to claim the same privilege and liberty in these times; yet I have not refused to be at my house in the Strand, and I am still ready to appear when I shall be sent for.' In the meanwhile he plunged with characteristic earnestness into the electoral struggle, and presented himself as a candidate in three different places.[1]

The earnestness of both sides was extreme; Republicans, Anabaptists, Levellers, Presbyterians, Royalists, and Cavaliers in disguise, all united to oppose the Protector. "No soldiers! no courtiers! no salaried men!" was their rallying cry. Cromwell, on his side, spread his agents and soldiers all over the country, and set vigorously to work himself: either personally, or by means of Thurloe, he maintained a

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. p. 328; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. iii. pp. 170, 380.

constant correspondence with his Major-generals, sometimes addressing to them, in his own name, letters which they publicly read at the electoral meetings, or put into circulation by means of their adherents. Both parties, as the nature of their position and means of action allowed, made unscrupulous use of promises and threats, favours and acts of violence, in order to insure their success. "The rabble of the town," wrote Major-General Kelsey to Thurloe, from Dover, on the 13th of August, 1656, "are endeavouring to get Mr. Cony chosen, which will be hard to prevent, if he be not secluded." And Cony probably was secluded, for Kelsey himself was elected. The exercise of arbitrary power was met by outbursts of popular passion; in several towns, the elections took place in the midst of tumults which soon became desperate fights; at Westminister two men were killed and a great many wounded; at Brentford, the Anabaptists, in order that their candidates might be successful, beat and drove off the magistrates who presided over the election; their adversaries rallied with shouts of "No Anabaptists!" and the battle became so violent that the soldiers, resuming their legitimate occupation, had great difficulty in dispersing the combatants. "Where our honest soldiers can appear," wrote one of the Protector's agents, on the 22nd of August, "a reasonable good choice is made; but the farther off from London the worse; for even here amongst us, under our noses, the ill-affected are so bold and ungrateful as at the elections to cry out: 'No soldiers! no courtiers!'" In order to throw dis-

credit on the coalition between the Republicans and Cavaliers, and to rekindle revolutionary passions to their disadvantage, Cromwell published the most injurious reports with regard to the exiled Stuarts. "Charles," it was said, "is a sickly, idle, spiritless prince, and his brother, the Duke of York, is a Papist." More than this: one of the mistresses of Charles II., Lucy Waters, the mother of the child who afterwards became the Duke of Monmouth, had come to England, where she had been arrested and imprisoned in the Tower. Cromwell ordered that she should be released, and published her history together with the text of a warrant for a pension of five thousand livres which Charles had conferred upon her; and the Protector's newspapers thus commented upon the incident: "By this, those that hanker after him may see they are furnished already with an heir apparent, and what a pious charitable prince they have for their master, and how well he disposeth of the collections and contributions which they make for him here, towards the maintenance of his concubines and royal issue."[1]

The success obtained by the Protector was not commensurate with his efforts: his major-generals and principal adherents were elected. Among the republican leaders, Vane and Bradshaw were defeated; Ludlow and Hutchinson kept aloof from the contest,

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. pp. 299, 302, 303, 304, 308, 312, 313, 337, 341, 349, 352, 356, 370; Heath's Chronicle, p. 704; Bates's Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum, part ii. p. 375; Cromwelliana, p. 157; Whitelocke, p. 649.

and the Government secured a majority; but upwards of a hundred declared enemies, and among them some of their most uncompromising opponents, Haslerig, Scott, Bond, and Robinson, had succeeded in getting elected; and when the struggle was over, one of the most sanguine of the Major-generals, Goffe, wrote to Thurloe, on the 29th of August, "Concerning the elections, I hope it may be said that, though they be not so good as we could have wished them, yet they are not so bad as our enemies would have had them." [1]

Some days after this result had been ascertained, on the 21st of August, 1656, Vane appeared before the Council, boldly admitted having written his pamphlet, and gave Cromwell another paper, in which he reiterated his advice and protests. When called upon to pledge himself, under pain of imprisonment, to do nothing to the prejudice of the existing government, he formally refused to do so. "I can do nothing," he said, "which may blemish or bring in question my innocence, or the goodness of the cause for which I suffer. I cannot but observe, however, how exactly you tread in the steps of the late King, whose design being to render the monarchy absolute, thought he could employ no better means to effect it, than by casting into obloquy and disgrace all those who desired to preserve the laws and liberties of the nation. It is with no small grief to be lamented, that the evil and wretched principles by which the late King aimed to work out his design, should now revive and spring

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. pp. 341, 365, 299, 313, 296, 349; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxi. pp. 3—23.

up under the hands of men professing godliness." Cromwell allowed fourteen days to elapse before he carried out the threat which had been employed to coerce Vane; he disliked severities after victory as being more irritating than necessary; and he left Bradshaw and Ludlow undisturbed, although they had resisted him with equal firmness. On the 9th of September, however, Vane was arrested, and committed to Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, the very prison in which Charles I. had been confined by the Long Parliament; and the governor was ordered not to suffer him to speak to any one, except in the presence of an officer. Colonel Rich and General Harrison, who had also refused to give any pledge, were incarcerated, the former at Windsor, and the latter in Pendennis Castle, in Cornwall; twelve royalists, well known for their active zeal, were sent to the Tower; and on the 17th of September, after having struck these blows to show that he felt sure of victory, Cromwell opened the Parliament.[1]

He began the session with a speech of more than three hours in length; the longest, as well as the most violent and embarrassed, he had yet delivered. He was under difficulty both as to the topics which he wished to discuss, and those which he wished to pass over in silence. Two motives had made him resolve on assembling a Parliament,—the necessity of having money to carry on the war against Spain, and

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. pp. 349, 407, 430; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 244; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 275—277; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. pp. 325, 326.

the hope of making himself king: it was distasteful to him to proclaim his necessity, and he took care not to give the slightest intimation of his hope. He enumerated, with his usual revolutionary bluntness, the dangers which threatened England: "You are at war with Spain. We put you into this hostility upon the ground of necessity; and the ground of necessity, for justifying men's actions, is above all considerations of instituted law . . . The Spaniard is your enemy, naturally and providentially, by reason of that enmity that is in him against whatsoever is of God . . . You could not get an honest or honourable peace from him . . . We desired but such liberty for our traders as that they might keep their Bibles in their pockets, to exercise their liberty of religion for themselves, and not be under restraint. But there is no liberty of conscience to be had from the Spaniard . . . The French, and all the Protestants in Germany, have also agreed that his design was the empire of the whole Christian world, if not more; and upon that ground, he looks at this nation as his greatest obstacle. . . . If you make any peace with any State that is Popish, and subject to the rule of Rome, you are bound, and they are loose. We have not now to do with any Popish State, except France; and it is certain they do not think themselves under such a tie to the Pope; but think themselves at liberty to perform honesties with nations, in agreement with them, and are able to give us an explicit answer to anything reasonably demanded of them . . .

"Spain is the root of the matter; that is the party

that brings all your enemies before you;—for Spain hath now espoused that interest which you have all along hitherto been conflicting with,—Charles Stuart's interest . . . with whom he is fully in agreement; for whom he hath raised seven or eight thousand men, and has them now quartered at Bruges; to which number, Don John of Austria has promised that, as soon as the campaign is ended, which, it is conceived, will be in about five or six weeks, he shall have four or five thousand added! . . . And truly Spain hath an interest in your bowels; for the Papists in England have been accounted, ever since I was born, Spaniolized. They never regarded France;—Spain was their patron . . . Can we think that Papists and Cavaliers shake not hands in England? It is unworthy, un-Christian, and un-English, you say: yes;—but it doth serve to let you see your danger, and the source thereof. . . .

"There is a generation of men in this nation who cry up nothing but righteousness, and justice, and liberty,—and these are diversified into several sects; and they are known to shake hands with all the scum and dirt of this nation. This levelling party hath some accession lately, which goes under a finer name or notion. I think they will now be called *Commonwealth's men*,—who perhaps have right to it little enough. And it is strange, that men of fortune and great estates, should join with such a people; but such is the fact . . . Do not despise these enemies; they are pretty numerous; and were to join the Cavaliers at the time when they were risen . . . It was in-

tended first to assassinate my person, which I would not remember as anything at all considerable, to myself or to you; for they would have had to cut throats beyond human calculation, before they could have been able to effect their design. But, you know very well, this is no fable. Persons were arraigned for it before the Parliament sat, tried, and, upon proof, condemned . . . An officer was also engaged, who was upon the guard, to seize me in my bed. And other foolish designs there were—as, to get into a room, to get gunpowder laid in it, and to blow up the room where I lay . . . The ringleaders in all this are none but your old enemies, the Papists and Cavaliers . . And they did not only set these things on work, but they sent a fellow, a wretched creature, an apostate from religion and all honesty,—they sent him to Madrid to advise with the King of Spain to land forces to invade this nation . . . When we knew all these designs, when we found that the Cavaliers would not be quiet,—"there is no peace to the wicked," saith the Scripture,—we did find out a little poor invention, which I hear has been much regretted; namely, the erecting of your Major-generals, to have a little inspection upon the people thus divided, thus discontented, thus dissatisfied, and upon the workings of the Popish party . . . And truly, I think if ever anything were justifiable, as to necessity, and honest in every respect, this was. And I could as soon venture my life with it as with anything I ever undertook . . . The Major-generals are men of known integrity and fidelity; and men who have freely

adventured their blood and lives for the good cause. . . . . And truly England doth yet receive one day more of lengthening out its tranquillity, by that same service of theirs!"[1]

Cromwell had now entered on a difficult course; instead of resting, as he had done at first, upon old revolutionary passions, he was attacking recent and powerful prejudices; the tyranny of the Major-generals had met with general reprobation, and had been censured even by those who had not suffered from its operation. Cromwell himself felt this, and, after having boldly justified the measure, he did not think it wise to dwell upon it at any length. But the next topic of his discourse was not more satisfactory; he had enumerated the evils which beset the country; it now behoved him to suggest remedies for those evils. He could not mention the one at which he was aiming, and which alone he believed would be effectual —the restoration of monarchy, in his person, with its great condition of force, order, and stability. He demanded money for the prosecution of the war, the devoted support of the Parliament for his government, and the reformation of laws and manners. But these were necessities which had been expected, and phrases devoid of deep meaning or virtue. He ended his speech with a paraphrase of the eighty-fifth Psalm, in which King David bursts into thanksgiving and joy, because he trusts that the Almighty God will pardon his people, bring them back from all their wanderings, and save them from all their dangers.

[1] Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 193—239.

But there is nothing to indicate that his peroration produced upon his auditors the impression which Cromwell hoped it would produce,—piety and the fear of anarchy: those chords which he had once swept with such powerful effect, were beginning to lose their influence upon his auditors.

On leaving the Painted Chamber, Cromwell returned to Whitehall, and the members of Parliament proceeded to the hall in which their meetings were held. At the doors they were met by guards who, before admitting them, required each of them to produce his certificate of admission. Most of them did so; but others had no certificate, and were not allowed to enter. Their surprise and indignation were great. what was the certificate thus demanded? By whom, and by what right, was it granted or refused? This was soon explained; the document was in this form:—"These are to certify that ——— is returned by indenture one of the Knights to serve in this present Parliament, for the county of ———, and approved by his Highness's Council. (Signed) Nathaniel Taylor, Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery." About three hundred members were provided with the certificate; a hundred and two had not received it, and were consequently excluded from the Parliament.[1]

On the following day, the 18th of September, the House met for the despatch of business. Sir Thomas Widdrington was elected Speaker, and other preliminary arrangements were in process of adoption, when

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxi. p. 24. Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 240, 241.

the following letter was handed in, signed by sixty-five persons:—"We whose names are subscribed (with others), being chosen, and accordingly returned to serve with you in this parliament, and in discharge of our trust, offering to go into the House, were at the lobby door kept back by soldiers; which, lest we should be wanting in our duty to you and to our country, we have thought it expedient to represent unto you, to be communicated to the House, that we may be admitted thereunto."[1]

When this letter had been read, the House ordered that the Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery should be summoned to the bar on the following day, and should bring with him the indentures of election of all the knights, citizens, and burgesses who had been returned to serve in that Parliament. When the order reached the clerk, he was not in London; but his deputy appeared at the bar of the House, with the indentures of all the elections; the names subscribed to the letter were read, and at each name, the clerk was asked if such a person had been duly elected at the place for which he claimed to sit: in every case, the answer was in the affirmative. The strongest agitation prevailed in the House: members went to and fro, stopping one another, forming into groups, talking and asking questions in the greatest confusion. The Speaker called to order. So long as a stranger was in the House, he said, every member should remain quietly and silently in his place. It was announced that the Clerk of the Commonwealth had returned to

[1] Commons Journals, vol. vii. p. 424.

London, and was in attendance at the door; he was admitted at once, and required to state how it happened that divers persons who, according to the indentures, appeared to have been well and duly elected, were not allowed to take their seats in the House; he replied that he had received instructions, from his Highness's Council, to deliver certificates of election to those persons only whose return had been approved by the Council: and he produced the order. The House resolved to demand of the Council for what reasons certain duly elected members had not been approved and admitted to sit. On the next day, the 22nd of September, Nathaniel Fiennes, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, by direction of the Council, made a verbal statement that, in pursuance of the seventeenth article of the Protectoral Constitution, "no persons could be elected to serve in Parliament but such as were of known integrity, fearing God, and of good conversation," and that by the twenty-first article of the same instrument, the Council was authorized and directed "to examine whether the persons elected were agreeable to the abovementioned qualifications." The Council, he said, had refused its approval to none of the persons elected who had appeared to it to possess the legal qualifications; and with regard to the persons not approved, his Highness had given orders that they should not be allowed to enter the House.[1]

The admission was boldly made; the articles of the

[1] Commons Journals, vol. vii. pp. 425, 426. Old Parliamentary History, vol. xx. pp. 255, 256, vol. xxi. pp. 26–28.

Constitution were formal; the House made some attempt to adjourn any further debate, but the proposal of adjournment was rejected. Nothing could be done but submit to this mutilation: it was resolved, by a hundred and twenty-five votes against twenty-nine, that the excluded members must apply to the Council, in order to obtain its approval; and the House, anxious to proceed to a settlement of the nation, took no further proceedings on the subject.[1]

The excluded members prepared and signed a vehement protest, in which, after a lengthy exposition of their just grievances, they denounced all who should continue to sit in this mutilated Parliament, as "betrayers of the liberties of England, and adherents to the capital enemies of the Commonwealth." Many thousands of copies of this protest, signed by ninety-three persons, were packed in boxes and deposited in various houses in London, whence they were privately taken and circulated throughout the country. Cromwell's police discovered and seized several of these boxes; but the public mind, without growing more generally favourable to the republicans, was becoming tired and indignant at these repeated acts of tyranny: a strong interest attached to all acts of resistance, by whomsoever attempted; the protest was eagerly sought for, and read with avidity. Some of those who had signed it, however, soon retracted their opposition, for they solicited and obtained from the Protector their admission into that Parliament which they had so lately denounced. But the public

[1] Commons Journals, vol. vii. p. 426.

impression underwent no alteration, and extended to the House itself; several of the members, regarding whose admission no difficulty had been made, became disgusted and ceased to attend its sittings; and most of those who continued to sit felt, in their inmost hearts, a consciousness of shame from which they hoped some day to find an opportunity of purging themselves without excessive danger.[1]

At this very moment, and as if to console the insulted nation, fortune sent Cromwell a glorious achievement. On the 2nd of October, 1656, Thurloe announced to the Parliament that the fleet which had been cruising off the coast of Spain, with a view to intercept the Spanish galleons on the way from America, had encountered, fought, and captured several of those richly laden vessels, on their arrival before Cadiz. The honour of this success did not belong to Blake and Montague, the commanders of the fleet: after waiting a long while, they had sailed from the coast of Spain to that of Portugal, leaving before Cadiz one of their officers, Captain Richard Stayner, with seven ships. No sooner had the English admirals taken their departure than the Spanish galleons appeared, four ships of war and four immense merchantmen; misled by the reports they had received, and believing they would be able to enter the port of Cadiz without difficulty. Stayner boldly attacked them, within sight of their town, the inhabitants of which, from the roofs of their houses,

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxi. pp. 28—38; Whitelocke, p. 651; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. p. 456.

were able to watch the vicissitudes of the conflict. After a valiant resistance, the Spaniards yielded: four of the ships were burned, and two captured, with their precious cargo of piastres, ingots, and various wealth. The Protector and the Parliament combined to extol this victory: the Parliament ordered a solemn thanksgiving service, first for the House itself, and then for the country generally. A detailed narrative of the affair was drawn up by a committee of the House, and circulated in every direction: the poets, both of the court and people, added their hymns to the official pæans. Admiral Montague, who arrived soon after, with the prizes, was overwhelmed with favours by Cromwell, and with compliments by the Parliament: Richard Stayner was knighted. When the treasures of Spain were set on shore at Portsmouth, they were immediately packed in thirty-eight waggons, and conveyed, under a brilliant escort, through the towns and villages of the south-west of England, to the Tower of London, there to be coined into English money. The imagination of the public and the charlatanry of the government vied with each other in exaggerating the value of the capture; some said it amounted to three, some to five, and some even to nine, millions of piastres. "It falls out much less than was expected," wrote Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, on the 4th of November; "not but that the prize itself fell out to be far richer than we first heard of, there being in the two ships taken near a million of money sterling, which was all plundered to about 350,000*l.*, or 300,000*l.* sterling. A private

captain, they say, hath got to his own share 60,000*l.*, and many private mariners 10,000*l.* a man; and this is so universal amongst the seamen, and taken in the heat of the fight, that it is not possible to get it again, any part of it." It is the privilege of martial glory that even cupidity and falsehood can scarce tarnish its splendour.[1]

Under the influence of this triumph, and in the absence of the old republican opposition, the Parliament passed all the bills, and adopted all the measures that Cromwell could desire. On the 26th of September an act was passed "for renouncing and disannulling the pretended title of Charles Stuart and his descendants to the crown of England." On the 9th of October another bill was adopted "for the security of his Highness the Lord Protector's person, and continuance of the nation in peace and safety." On the 1st of October, it was unanimously voted that "the war against the Spaniard was undertaken upon just and necessary grounds, and for the good of the people of this Commonwealth; and the Parliament will, by God's blessing, assist his Highness therein." The Parliament would willingly have remained satisfied with this promise, and more than two months elapsed before it seemed to think of fulfilling it; but the friends of the Protector brought the subject plainly before the House. "We cannot," said

[1] Commons Journals, vol. vii. pp. 432, 433; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. pp. 399, 433, 434, 472, 505, 509, 524, 557; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 212, 213; Dixon's Life of Blake, pp. 332–337; Cromwelliana, p. 159.

Captain Fiennes, "kill the king of Spain, nor take Spain or Flanders, by a vote; there must be monies provided." On the 30th of January, 1657, a sum of four hundred thousand pounds was voted for the expenses of the war; and several taxes were remodelled and increased in order to provide this amount. In all its relations with the Protector, the Parliament showed him extreme deference; the forms of official communications between the two powers were regulated (on the 1st of October, 1656) in a manner most respectful to him. All the appointments which he had made to high judicial offices were approved. Nearly all the ordinances which he had issued, on his own sole authority, were confirmed. The House published no declaration, and ordained no public ceremony, without having first requested and obtained his assent. No opportunity was allowed to escape for bestowing the most substantial marks of favour, not only on himself, but on his family. On the 27th of December, 1656, the House was discussing an act for regulating the distribution of confiscated lands in Ireland. Whitelocke proposed that a clause should be added, to settle "the manor-house, town and lands of Portumna upon the Lord Henry Cromwell, his heirs and assigns for ever, in consideration of his many good and faithful services, and in full satisfaction of all arrears due to him." "A good gift," says Thomas Burton, who was present on the occasion; "a manor, park, house, and four thousand acres:—large things!" No one opposed the addition of this clause. "I hope," said Sir William Strickland, "you

will readily pass it, for this gentleman has done you eminent service. It is not a free gift, but for his arrears." "This is no great matter," said Sir John Reynolds, "not above a thousand pounds worth. It is as little as can be." "It is less than his good services and merit," said Mr. Goodwin; "there are two thousand acres more in Connaught; I desire they may be added; all is too little." The two thousand acres were added, making six thousand acres in all: and there were only two noes, Mr. Robinson and Major-General Lilburne. In this liberality there was something more than interested flattery; the Parliament believed that the revolution had reached its goal, and was anxious to establish its government.[1]

Cromwell was more desirous to do this than any other person could be; but he understood the difficulty of the undertaking better than any one else. He possessed the two qualities which make men great, and lead them to do great things; he was at once sensible and bold, under no illusion as to his actual position, and indomitable in his hopes. His power was absolute, but precarious; acquiesced in as necessary and provisional, not as legitimate and final. Though they had undergone fifteen years of alternate violation and suppression, three institutions still retained their rightfulness in the eyes of the English people: these were—the parliament, the Crown, and the law. The intervention of the country in its own

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 428, 436, 431, 484—490, 583, 431, 437, 438, 429, 524, 526, 528; Burton's Diary, vol. i. pp. 174, 191, 269, 259, 260.

government by means of the two Houses; the hereditary transmission of the royal power; and that collection of statutes, customs, forms, traditions, and judicial decisions which represented justice, and was called the law,—constituted, according to the public conscience, the legitimate power of the State. Cromwell was so profoundly convinced of this, that the re-establishment of legitimate royalty sometimes even presented itself before his mind, if not as a chance, at least as a doubt; and he readily encouraged friendly conversation on this topic. Lord Broghill told him one day that he had spent the morning in the city. "Cromwell asked him what news he had heard there. The other answered that he was told he was in treaty with the King, who was to be restored, and to marry his daughter. Cromwell expressing no indignation at this, Lord Broghill said, in the state to which things were brought, he saw not a better expedient; they might bring him in on what terms they pleased, and Cromwell might retain the same authority he then had, with less trouble. Cromwell answered, 'The King can never forgive his father's blood.' Broghill said, he was one of many that were concerned in that, but he would be alone in the merit of restoring him. Cromwell replied, 'He is so damnably debauched, he would undo us all;' and so turned to another discourse, without any emotion, which made Broghill conclude that he had often thought of that expedient."[1]

About the same period, the Marquis of Hertford,

[1] Burnet's History of His Own Time, vol. i. p. 119.

one of the most honourable of the advisers of Charles I., and who, since the death of that monarch, had lived in retirement on his estates, lost his eldest son, Lord Beauchamp. Cromwell, who eagerly availed himself of every opportunity for placing himself in communication with the great royalist nobles, sent Sir Edward Sydenham to assure him of his sympathy and condolence. Lord Hertford returned a suitable acknowledgement of his courtesy. "Some time after this, the Protector sent to invite the Marquis to dine with him. This great nobleman knew not how to waive or excuse it, considering it was in Cromwell's power to ruin him and all his family; he sent him word that he would wait upon his Highness. Cromwell received him with all imaginable respect; and after dinner took him by the hand and led him into his withdrawing room, where they two being alone, he told the Marquis he had desired his company that he might have his advice what to do. 'For,' said he, 'I am not able to bear the weight of business that is upon me; I am weary of it, and you, my lord, are a great and a wise man, and of great experience, and have been much versed in the business of government. Pray advise me what I shall do.' The Marquis was much surprised at this discourse of the Protector, and desired again and again to be excused, telling him he had served King Charles all along, and been of his private council; and that it was no way consistent with his principles that either the Protector should ask, or he (the Marquis) adventure, to give him any advice. This, notwithstanding, would not satisfy

Cromwell; but he pressed him still, and told him he would receive no excuses nor denials, but bid the Marquis speak freely, and whatsoever he said it should not turn in the least to his prejudice. The Marquis, seeing himself thus pressed, and that he could not avoid giving an answer, said:—'Sir, upon this assurance you have given me, I will declare to your Highness my thoughts, by which you may continue to be great, and establish your name and family for ever. Our young master that is abroad—that is, my master, and the master of us all—restore him to his crowns; and by doing this you may have what you please.' The Protector, no way disturbed at this, answered very sedately, that he had gone so far that the young gentleman could not forgive. The Marquis replied, that if his Highness pleased, he would undertake with his master for what he had said. The Protector returned answer, that, in his circumstances, he could not trust. Thus they parted, and the Marquis received no prejudice thereby as long as Cromwell lived."[1]

But this was only the toleration of a victor, in a private conversation; although he allowed men to speak to him of Charles Stuart, Cromwell thought of himself alone, in connection with the restoration of the monarchy. And he had reason to believe himself entitled to entertain this idea with some confidence; as his power increased and consolidated itself, the notion that he ought to be and would be king gained

[1] Lady Theresa Lewis's Lives from the Clarendon Gallery, vol. iii. pp. 122, 123.

ground throughout the country. Petitions were sent from several counties to request him to assume the title and authority of royalty. In the name of religion and good government, the Commonwealth was spoken ill of; and it was remembered that a king had first introduced the Christian faith into the island. It was asserted that, though certain officers were opposed to this very natural transformation of the Protector into a king, the soldiers in general approved of it, and would remain faithful to him. "We must have a king, and will have a king," said many of his partisans; "and the Lord Protector dares not refuse it;" and when Waller celebrated the victory of the English fleet before Cadiz, and the arrival of the treasures of Spain in England, it was not by a mere poetic impulse, nor in a strain of unusual flattery, that he said:—

> "His conquering head has no more room for bays —
> Then let it be as the glad nation prays.
> Let the rich ore be forthwith melted down,
> And the State fixed, by making him a crown;
> With ermine clad, and purple, let him hold
> A royal sceptre, made of Spanish gold."[1]

In proportion as this movement of popular opinion became more distinct, and might have led Cromwell to believe himself near the attainment of his object, the less he spoke about it; he was one of those who, in all decisive conjunctures, prelude action by silence. He was, moreover, well aware that nothing was possible until he had a Parliament which would sponta-

[1] Burton's Diary, vol. i. pp. cxli., 384, vol. ii. pp. 2, 141, 220; Waller's Poetical Works, p. 63.

neously impose the crown upon him. But, towards the end of 1656, when the new assembly which he had caused to be elected quietly consented to its own mutilation, Cromwell believed that the favourable moment had arrived; he felt himself at length in possession of a Parliament thoroughly servile, and boldly devoted to his cause. Outside the walls of Parliament, the state of the public mind and of political parties seemed equally propitious to his hopes. Among the Cavaliers, many were thoroughly discouraged, and having ceased to believe in the possibility of the King's return, manifested a willingness to content themselves with a restoration of monarchy; while others, with greater obstinacy and boldness, flattered themselves that, if royalty were once re-established, the country would not endure to see the crown on any head but that of the legitimate king; and they therefore hoped that Cromwell would raise himself to the throne, feeling confident that he would speedily fall from it again. The chief desire of the Presbyterians had been for the triumph of their religious system in the Church, and of constitutional government in the State: Cromwell treated their clergy with favour, sustained their preachings, and granted them the greater number of benefices; in religious matters, they undoubtedly enjoyed the predominance; if Cromwell, therefore, on becoming king, could be induced to act in conformity with legal order, and to govern in concert with the Parliament, why should not the nation acquiesce in a change of monarch, which could not fail in the end, to serve the cause of its religious faith and its political

liberties? The sectaries, Independents, Anabaptists, Millenarians, and Quakers, were more opposed to every prospect of monarchy; many of them, however, were beginning to grow tired of their unfruitful political efforts, and to care only to secure the free exercise of their belief and worship: Cromwell granted them this, to as great an extent as the general intolerance would permit, and more, assuredly, than any other ruler would have done. Finally, he had governed for three years as an absolute master: he had succeeded in all his undertakings: the last blows which he had struck proved that his audacity was boundless; and most men, whether friends, enemies, or neutral, were inclined to believe that his good fortune would be equally unlimited, and to watch his progress with confidence or resignation.

Instinctively aware of this disposition of the public mind, Cromwell began once more to discuss the great question with his confidants. Among these were men of very various origin, and enjoying very unequal degrees of intimacy: the royalist Lord Broghill, a warrior, a courtier, and intriguer, who delighted to share in the fortune of a great man; the Presbyterian Pierrepoint, a man of judicious and liberal mind, ready to support and advise any government which he thought would conduce to the welfare of his country; the jurisconsults, Whitelocke, Widdrington, Glynn, St. John, and Lenthall, ready to serve the existing powers with zeal, provided that they were not required to make any personal sacrifice in its cause; and the man who, of all others, possessed the greatest

amount of Cromwell's confidence, Thurloe, who directed his secret police, both in England and on the Continent, and conducted his private correspondence, both on public and family affairs; a shrewd, active, and discreet servant, without any pretension either to independence or to glory, which rendered him as convenient as he was useful to his master. To these different confidants, even to Thurloe himself, Cromwell gave no distinct explanation of his designs. Though naturally as impetuous as untruthful, age and experience had taught him to practise greater reserve; but by exciting, by his conversations, sometimes their curiosity, and sometimes their zeal, he daily urged them further forward on the road which was to conduct him to his object, whilst he always remained in a position either to arrest their progress or to deny that he had given them any encouragement in their designs.

Rumours of this policy soon spread, not only through England, but also over the Continent. In France, especially, the fact was neither novel nor unexpected. During the previous year a citizen of Paris, who noted down contemporary events with considerable care, and who was moreover a great enemy of the English revolutionaries and of Cromwell, wrote in his journal, "A singular report has been spread through Paris during the present month. It was said that Cromwell, not content with that sovereign authority which he has arrogated to himself over England, Scotland, and Ireland, under the title of Protector of those three nations, secretly aspired to retain it under

the name of king; and that, with a view to secure the approbation of all Christendom to his project, he had sent two English Catholics to Rome, who were negotiating underhand with his Holiness on his behalf, and endeavouring to persuade him that, by giving his consent to the ambitious design of this usurper, he would assuredly bring again within the pale of the church that infinite number of souls who recognize his authority and his new establishment over them. Time will show us whether this illustrious impostor was capable of so fine a thought, and whether from so wicked a beginning, so great a blessing can accrue to all these parricidal islanders."[1]

Parliament had scarcely assembled when M. de Bordeaux, the French ambassador at London, wrote thus to M. de Brienne:—"The Protector granted me, this evening, the audience which I had requested. . . . I left him, persuaded, both by his words and by the expression of his countenance, that the internal affairs of England occupy his mind more than her external relations; and his conduct during the last few days makes it evident that he is either in great alarm or has a great design on foot."[2] A month afterwards he added:—"The Protector still professes a desire to make no changes; nevertheless, public rumour will have it that the Parliament intends to make some innovation in his favour, after the means for con-

[1] The journal, which extends from 1648 to 1657, is contained among the MSS. of the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris, Supplément Français, No. 1238 *bis*. It consists of five volumes.

[2] Letter from M. de Bordeaux to M. de Brienne, September 21st, 1656; in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

tinuing the war with the King of Spain have been resolved upon."[1] At the beginning of December, 1656, he wrote:—"It was the common belief that the Parliament would to-day discuss the succession, and that, notwithstanding the apparent opposition of some officers of the army, it would be resolved upon. I learn, however, that nothing was said on the subject this morning. Some assert that the proposition is postponed until after all other business shall have been concluded; others that the repugnance of the officers of the army has deferred it for a still longer period; and though it is most probable that the Protector must eventually succeed in his design, I should, nevertheless, feel a difficulty in speaking of it so boldly as Colonel Lockhart does; and he would never have gone so far if he had regulated his speeches by those of his master."[2] Lastly, towards the end of the same month, he thus wrote:—"Some affirm that the report of a descent of the King of Great Britain upon Scotland has been spread, in order to give greater plausibility to a proposition which is to be made one of these days in favour of the family of the Protector. The matter has already been treated several times indirectly, and the officers of the army have always appeared opposed to it; but it seems that now a resolution has been taken to speak of it openly. On the day before yesterday, most of the members expected that it would have been brought forward, and

[1] Letter from M. de Bordeaux to M. de Brienne, October 26th, 1656; in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

[2] The same to the same, December 11th, 1656; ibid.

the delay which has taken place leads to the belief that the minds of the army are not yet well-disposed towards it. Nevertheless, the most common opinion is that they will agree to it, and that they affect this repugnance only in order to maintain their credit among the inferior officers, who cannot relish the establishment of a perfect monarchy. The gentlemen and lawyers, of whom that body (the Parliament) is composed, and many other persons of all conditions in England, desire it; those even who are attached to the royal family believe that it will be to its advantage for the quarrel to stand only between it and the Protector's family. Nevertheless, if he were to survive for any length of time the settlement to which I allude, his children might probably retain his authority."[1]

When matters had been brought to this point, either by his machinations or by the natural course of events, Cromwell boldly entered the field, and his first attack was directed against that very Parliament which was to make him king. It was little to have mutilated and humiliated it; it was necessary to display to England, in the strongest possible light, the formidably vicious character of that assembly, which, notwithstanding its abasement, still regarded itself as the depository of the national sovereignty, and by which all the powers of the State, without distinction or limit, were sometimes unlawfully assumed and carried into tyrannical exercise. The House itself

[1] Letter from M. de Bordeaux to M. de Brienne, end of December, 1656; in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France.

furnished Cromwell with an opportunity for making this danger evident to the eyes of the country. A sectary, named James Naylor, who had been first a soldier, and afterwards a Quaker, and who was one of the insanest of lunatics, pretended that Christ had descended once more upon earth and become incarnate in him; and on this pretext, he indulged in all sorts of the most extravagant and licentious manifestations and actions. Fanatical women and vagabonds of every description followed him wherever he went, singing his praises, and almost offering him worship. He was arrested at Bristol, and brought to London, where the House of Commons, instead of sending him before the ordinary judges, appointed a committee to report on his case, summoned him to its bar, and decided upon trying him itself. It was less a question of liberty of conscience than a renewal of the conflict between the old spirit of cruel severity and the rising spirit of moderation, in regard to the punishment of blasphemy and other offences against the Christian faith. The affair occupied ten sittings. The House maintained that it possessed the right of life and death as fully as the three combined powers of the old Parliament had done, and the fanatics were anxious to make full use of this power. "This man, in short, makes himself God; our God is here supplanted. Should we not be as jealous of God's honour as we are of our own? Wherefore do you sit in that chair but to bear witness of the truth? My ears did tingle and my heart tremble to hear the report. Let the blasphemer be stoned! I humbly beseech you

make no delay in it. I cannot hold my peace lest my conscience dog me to my chamber, to my curtains, to my grave!" Such were the speeches of a great number of members, some of whom, as for instance, Skippon, Butler, Downing, and Drake, were men of considerable importance; and if several officers, of whom Desborough was one, and some of the lawyers, including Whitelocke, had not spoken on the subject, this blaspheming maniac would probably have been hanged without further trial; for out of a hundred and seventy-eight who voted, eighty-two members, among whom was Richard Cromwell himself, were in favour of of putting him to death. Naylor was condemned to be be set in the pillory, to have his tongue bored through with a hot iron, to be whipped by the hangman through the streets, and to be confined in prison, with hard labour, as long as Parliament should please.[1] Cromwell was careful not to interfere with this sentence; such interposition would have offended public feeling, which was aroused against the blasphemer. But another public feeling was also aroused against this violation of the common law—against the assumption of judicial power by the House—suppressing the jury, the judges, and all the formalities of legal procedure, and thus depriving the English of the dearest guarantees of their liberties. Cromwell seized eagerly upon this opportunity, and at the very moment of the execution of the sentence, he wrote thus to the Speaker of the Parliament:—

"Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.

[1] Journals of the House of Commons, vol. vii. pp. 448—469; State Trials, vol. v. cols. 801—842; Burton's Diary, vol. i. pp. 24—167.

Having taken notice of a judgment lately given by yourselves against one James Naylor: Although we detest and abhor the giving or occasioning the least countenance to persons of such opinions and practices, or who are under the guilt of the crimes commonly imputed to the said person; yet we, being entrusted in the present government, on behalf of the people of these nations; and not knowing how far such proceedings, entered into wholly without us, may extend in the consequence of it,—Do desire that the House will let us know the grounds and reasons whereupon they have proceeded."[1]

The House was embarrassed; it was unwilling either to enter into open conflict with the Protector, or to abandon the jurisdiction which it had arrogated to itself; its only answer was to reject a proposition which was made to it, on the 27th of December, for postponing the complete execution of Naylor's sentence; and on the very next day, that part of the punishment which remained to be inflicted, was carried into effect.[2] This mattered little to Cromwell; he had exposed the vices of the republican constitution, and charged the Parliament alone with the most flagrant of those violations of the law which he had himself so frequently committed; whilst, at the same time, without making any compromising advance to the fanatical sectaries, he cleared himself, in their

[1] Cromwell to Sir Thomas Widdrington, December 25th, 1656; in his Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. p. 265.

[2] Commons Journals, vol. vii. p. 476; Burton's Diary, vol. i. pp. 260—264.

eyes, of all connection with the rigorous punishment which one of their number had just undergone.

After this exposure of the Parliament, Cromwell's next care was to humiliate and compromise the army, or at least those of the leaders of the army whose influence or ill-will he feared. Under the pretext of providing for the maintenance of the militia, Desborough brought forward a bill, on the 25th of December, 1656, for continuing the tax of a tenth part of their revenue upon members of the royalist party alone, which had been imposed during the previous year. The real object of this bill was to amnesty the Major-generals, who had, each in his own district, arbitrarily imposed this tax, and thus at once to sanction the tax, and the military authority which had already levied it. There was every reason to believe that this bill had been brought forward with Cromwell's consent; for he alone, in 1655, had appointed the Major-generals, and given them all their instructions. Indeed, when the bill was first mentioned in the House, Thurloe had given it his support; but, to the great astonishment of all parties, when the debate began, one of Cromwell's sons-in-law, John Claypole, the husband of his favourite daughter, Elizabeth, opened the discussion by saying: "The bill consists of two parts: 1. Decimations, and the continuance of them; 2. Indemnity to such persons as have acted in it. For the first, I cannot see how it can stand, unless you violate your articles and the Act of Oblivion; for, by the bill, you punish men wholly for an offence before committed. It lies altogether upon

retrospection. It will be hard to convict men upon this bill, and you will not surely lay this tax upon men till conviction. It ought to be considered whether you will entail this upon their posterity; whether the children shall be punished for the father's offence. I like the second part of it, that is, indemnity; but I hope that will be provided for in another bill. I did but only start this debate, and leave it to others who are better able to speak to it. My opinion is, upon the whole matter, that this bill ought to be rejected; and that is my humble motion."[1]

The anger of the Major-generals was extreme; they found themselves betrayed by the very man from whom they held their mission; and he exposed them to all the hatred which they had incurred by carrying out the arbitrary measures which he had commanded. Lambert, Desborough, Whalley, Butler, and their friends warmly supported the bill. Encouraged by the example of Claypole, the lawyers and courtiers persisted in opposing it. The debate became violent and personal. One day, Major-General Butler having spoken harshly of the Cavaliers, Harry Cromwell, the Protector's cousin, said in reply: "Many gentlemen do say and think it just that, because some of the Cavaliers have done amiss, therefore all should be punished: by the same argument, because some of the Major-generals have done amiss, which I offer to prove, therefore all of them deserve to be punished." The Major-generals cried out at this; and one of them,

[1] Burton's Parliamentary Diary, vol. i. pp. 310, 311, 230—243; Commons Journals, vol. vii. p. 475; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. p. 786.

Kelsey, demanded that Harry Cromwell should be required to name those whom he intended to inculpate. Up started Harry, and begged the House to give him leave to name them; "and offered to prove unwarrantable actions done by them." This set the House on fire; "but," says the member who relates this incident, "this fire was put out by the grave water-carriers." As he left the House, some of the friends of the Major-generals threatened Harry Cromwell with the Protector's anger; so Harry went to Whitehall that very evening, and repeated to his cousin all that he had said in the House, adding, that he had brought "his black book and papers to make good what he said." Cromwell treated the whole matter as a joke, and, taking from his shoulders a rich scarlet cloak which he wore that day, he gave it, with his gloves, to Harry, "who," says the narrator of the story, "strutted with his new cloak and gloves in the House this day, to the great satisfaction and delight of some, and trouble of others. It was a pretty passage of his Highness."[1]

Jocular and sarcastic, with more heartiness than good taste, Cromwell took almost as much pleasure in tricking his adversaries as in conquering them, and he was, on this occasion most assuredly, amused at their surprise and anger at finding themselves thus braved and duped. He foresaw that some of the Major-generals would oppose his cherished plan, and

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. pp. 20, 21; Burton's Parliamentary Diary, vol. i. p. 369; Mark Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, vol. i. pp. 67—73.

he was more desirous to discredit than to exasperate them. It exhibited a want of his ordinary prudence, for he did not believe he could make himself king without the assistance of a majority of the most influential of his old comrades; but one idea alone now filled his mind; to make himself independent of, and superior to, both the Parliament and the army; to offer himself to the country as the only refuge from their excesses, and thus to found the final triumph of his fortune upon the merited unpopularity of his own instruments.

While his friends were thus divided, his enemies came to his aid, and most efficiently promoted his design. Charles II., who was then residing at Bruges, was collecting some few companies of soldiers, had received a supply of money from Spain, and seemed, in short, to be preparing an expedition for his restoration to his kingdom. His ally, the republican Sexby, had recently returned to Flanders, after having spent several months in England; he demanded only a thousand infantry and five hundred horse, and promised that, as soon as he had landed in Kent, he would bring to pass a republican insurrection against Cromwell, which would become a royalist rebellion as soon as the Protector was overthrown. Sexby reckoned on assassination as the most effectual means of overthrowing Cromwell; and he had left in London one of his old comrades in war and conspiracy, Miles Sindercombe, a brave soldier and zealous republican, rather a freethinker than a Christian sectary, who, with four or five accomplices, spent his time in devis-

ing means, and watching for opportunities, of killing the Protector. On his departure from London, Sexby had given Sindercombe five hundred pounds, and was to have sent him a further sum: by his own confession, it was the former ambassador of Spain to England, Don Alonzo de Cardeñas, who had concerted this plot with him at Brussels, and had furnished him with the means of carrying it into execution.[1]

On the 19th of January, 1657, Thurloe got up in his place in Parliament, and solemnly revealed the whole plot, announcing that Sindercombe and two of his accomplices had been arrested, giving full details, reading lengthy depositions, and hinting at perils still more dark and destructive, such as a general insurrection of the Cavaliers, and an invasion of England by the combined forces of Charles Stuart and the Spaniards. Whether sincere or affected, the emotion caused by this statement was profound; it was voted that a solemn service should be celebrated in the three kingdoms to give thanks to God for the discovery of the plot; and it was proposed that a committee should be appointed to learn from the Protector when it would be convenient for him to grant audience to the House, and receive its congratulations upon his deliverance. "I would have something else added," said Mr. Ashe, an obscure member, "which, in my opinion, would tend very much to the preservation of

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 278; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 315, 321, 324, 327, 338; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. pp. 1, 2, 33, 182, 560; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 278, 333.

himself and us, and to the quieting of all the designs of our enemies;—that his Highness would be pleased to take upon him the government according to the ancient constitution. Both our liberties and peace, and the preservation and privilege of his Highness would then be founded upon an old and sure foundation."

The general emotion was now succeeded by violent excitement. "I understand not," said Mr. Robinson, "what that gentleman's motion means, who talks of an old constitution, so I cannot tell how we should debate upon it. The old constitution is Charles Stuart's interest. I hope we are not calling him in again." "The gentleman that moved this," said Mr. Highland, "was one of those that was for the pulling down of what he would now set up again. That was King, Lords, and Commons; a constitution which we have pulled down with our blood and treasure. Will you make the Lord Protector the greatest hypocrite in the world, to make him sit in that place, which God has borne testimony sufficiently against? Are you now going to set up kingly government, which, for these thousand years, has persecuted the people of God? Do you expect a better consequence? I beseech you consider of it! What a crime it is to offer such a motion as this! Do you expect a thanksgiving day upon this? I desire that this motion may die as abominable; and I beseech you, that such a thing as this may never receive footing here."[1]

[1] Commons Journals, vol. vii. p. 481; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 325; Burton's Parliamentary Diary, vol. i. pp. 356—364.

Thus violently attacked, Mr. Ashe's motion was, nevertheless, defended, but with considerable timidity and embarrassment. It was, at length, by general consent, allowed to drop as not being in order, but it was not altogether rejected. Burton says, "I have not seen so hot a debate vanish so strangely, like an *ignis fatuus*."[1]

This was not the first occasion, however, upon which the Parliament had heard such a proposition. Some time before, Colonel William Jephson, in the course of debate, had distinctly proposed to make Cromwell king; but his proposition was not entertained for a moment, and fell to the ground almost unnoticed. A few days after, he dined at Whitehall, and Cromwell gently reproved him for it, telling him, "that he wondered what he could mean by such a proposition." Jephson replied, "that whilst he was permitted the honour of sitting in that House, he must desire the liberty to discharge his conscience, though his opinion should happen to displease." Whereupon, Cromwell, clapping him on the shoulder, said, "Get thee gone for a mad fellow as thou art!" "But," says Ludlow, "it soon appeared with what madness he was possessed; for he immediately obtained a foot company for his son, then a scholar at Oxford, and a troop of horse for himself."[2]

These preliminaries were significant, but futile; they disclosed the object without making any advance towards it. Meanwhile, circumstances grew urgent;

[1] Burton's Parliamentary Diary, vol. i. p. 366.
[2] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 246.

the bill which Desborough had brought forward to screen the Major-generals was rejected, and it became clear that Cromwell was preparing to dispense with their services; Sindercombe was found guilty by the jury, and poisoned himself in the Tower, on the evening before the day fixed for his execution. Dark suspicions were awakened.[1] It was necessary to escape from this state of restless expectancy, which threatened to prove fatal, if it were allowed to remain unproductive. A decisive proposition was prepared, and Whitelocke was requested to submit it to the Parliament; he declined, but promised to support it when brought forward.[2] He was one of those men who wish events to precede them, and prefer to account for servile complaisance rather than for bold forwardness. Alderman Sir Christopher Pack, one of the representatives of the city of London, undertook to make the proposition. Cromwell had recently made him a knight, and, as one of the Commissioners of the Excise, he had sundry accounts to render, which caused him no slight embarrassment. On the 23rd of February, 1656, as soon as the House met, he rose, and presenting a long paper to the House, requested permission to read it. "It was something come to his hands," he said, "tending to the settlement of the nation, and of liberty and property." The storm broke out immediately, for no one could mistake the object of the proposition. The republicans, both soldiers and civilians, opposed the reading of the

[1] February 13, 1657; State Trials, vol. v. cols. 850, 851.

[2] Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 656.

paper, declared that it was an unparliamentary proceeding, overwhelmed Pack with questions and reproaches, and eventually carried their violence so far as to drag him from his seat, near the Speaker's chair, to the bar of the House. But the Protector's partizans, and nearly all the lawyers, resolutely supported both the proposition and its author. On the question being put, the reading of the paper was ordered, by 144 votes against 54; it was accordingly read at once, and a resolution was passed that the debate upon it should begin on the next day.[1]

The paper was entitled—"The humble address and remonstrance of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, now assembled in the Parliament of this Commonwealth;" it restored the monarchy, and invited the Protector to assume the title of King, and also to point out his successor.

On the following day, the 24th of February, Thurloe wrote to Monk, who was then governor of Scotland: "Yesterday we fell into a great debate in Parliament. One of the aldermen who serve for the city of London brought in a paper called a *Remonstrance*, desiring my Lord Protector to assume kingly power, and to call future Parliaments, consisting of two Houses." And, after having explained to Monk the various articles of the scheme, Thurloe thus concluded:—"I have written most fully to you in these particulars, because you might satisfy any others who may have scruples about this business. I

[1] Journals of the House of Commons, vol. vii. p. 496; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 246, 247.

do assure you it ariseth from the Parliament only; his Highness knew nothing of the preambles until they were brought into the House, and no man knows whether, if they be passed, but that his Highness will reject them. It is certain he will, if the security of the good people and cause be not provided for therein to the full. It is good that you inform yourself concerning the posture of the army with you; lest some unquiet spirit or other will take this or any other occasion to put the army into discontent by false reports."[1]

This notice was opportune, for on the 27th of February, the very day on which the Parliament was celebrating a solemn fast, in order to obtain light from above in reference to the great debate on which it was about to enter, a hundred officers, led by several of the Major-generals, Lambert, Desborough, Fleetwood, Whalley, and Goffe, waited upon Cromwell, and entreated him not to accept the title of King: "because," said Colonel Mills, who acted as their spokesman, "it was not pleasing to his army, and was matter of scandal to the people of God, and of great rejoicing to the enemy; and that it was also hazardous to his own person, and of great danger to the three nations, as such an assumption made way for Charles Stuart to come in again."

Cromwell immediately replied: "The first man

[1] This letter from Thurloe to Monk, as far at least as I am aware, has remained hitherto unpublished. I am indebted for it to the kindness of Dr. Travers Twiss, by whom it was discovered among the manuscripts in Littlecott Castle. It is printed entire in Appendix XXIII.

that told me of it was he who is the mouth of the officers now present. For my part I have never been in any cabal about the same. Time was when you boggled not at the word *King*, for the Instrument by which the Government now stands, was presented to me with that title in it, as some here present could witness; and I refused to accept of the title. But how it comes to pass that you now startle at the title, you best know. For my part, I love the title,—a mere feather in a hat,—as little as you do. You have made me your drudge, upon all occasions: to dissolve the Long Parliament, who had contracted evil enough by long sitting; to call a Parliament, or Convention, of your naming, who met, and what did they?—fly at liberty and property; insomuch as if one man had twelve cows, they held that another who wanted cows ought to take share with his neighbour. Who could have said anything was their own, if these men had gone on? After their dissolution, how was I pressed by you for the rooting out of the ministry; nay, rather than fail, to starve them out. A Parliament was afterwards called; they sat five months; it is true we hardly heard of them in all that time. They took the Instrument into debate, and they must needs be dissolved; and yet, stood not the Instrument in need of mending? Was not the case hard with me, to be put upon to swear to that which was so hard to be kept? Some time after that, you thought it was necessary to have Major-generals; and the first rise to that motion (the late general insurrections) was justifiable; and you Major-generals did your parts

well. You might have gone on. Who bid you go to the House with a bill, and there receive a foil? After you had exercised this power a while, impatient were you till a Parliament was called. I gave my vote against it; but you were confident, by your own strength and interest, to get men chosen to your heart's desire. How you have failed therein, and how much the country hath been disobliged, is well known. It is time to come to a settlement, and lay aside arbitrary proceedings, so unacceptable to the nation; and by the proceedings of this Parliament, you see they stand in need of a check, or balancing power; for the case of James Naylor might happen to be your own case. By their judicial power they fall upon life and member; and doth the Instrument enable me to control it?"[1]

The facts mentioned by Cromwell were embarrassing, his ideas were striking and unexpected, and his voice still possessed great influence over his old companions. Many grew feebler in their resistance, among others three of the Major-generals, Whalley, Goffe, and Berry. A compromise was made. It was agreed that the question of title should remain in suspense until the end of the debate, and that no clause of the bill should be considered definitive or obligatory, until the whole had been resolved upon. On these conditions, the officers consented that the Parliament should in future consist of two Houses, ad-

[1] Burton's Parliamentary Diary, vol. i. pp. 382—384; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 268, 269.

mitted the right of Cromwell to appoint his successor, and pledged themselves to allow the debate to pursue its course without interruption.

The debate extended from the 23rd of February to the 30th of March, 1657, and occupied twenty-four sittings, seven of which, contrary to the usages of the House, continued during the whole of the day, both before and after noon. The few details which have been transmitted to us regarding it, seem to indicate that, though the discussions were long and animated, they were not disturbed by any manifestations of violence. Only, when, after having discussed the entire project, the House returned to the first article, which proposed the re-establishment of the monarchy, and which had been purposely left in suspense, it was directed that the doors should be closed, and that no member should be allowed to absent himself without a special permission. Many, doubtless, would have preferred to escape from the necessity of taking part in so embarrassing a question. A hundred and eighty-five members voted, sixty-two against, and a hundred and twenty-three in favour of, the article, which was adopted in these terms: "That your Highness will be pleased to assume the name, style, title, dignity, and office of King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the respective dominions and territories thereunto belonging; and to exercise the same, according to the laws of these nations." And, with a view to make the form of the document comply at once with monarchical usages, instead of being called an "Address and Re-

monstrance," it was entitled the "Humble Petition and Advice."[1]

We have no reason to believe that, during this debate, the country was either violently agitated, or paid any very passionate attention to it. The newspapers of the time, which were either rigidly censured or roughly intimidated, allude to it with curt and dry reserve, generally in some such terms as these: "On the 25th of March, the House came to a resolution of great concernment, of which you may expect an account hereafter."[2] Justly wearied and distrustful, the population cared little who were its masters, or about changes in which they alone seemed to be interested. Passion as well as action in the matter was concentrated around the Government itself, among its servants and opponents; and even in this sphere, notwithstanding the ardour of the struggle, great doubt and reserve prevailed. On the 3rd of March, Thurloe wrote thus to Henry Cromwell, "His Highness spake to the officers in very plain, yet loving and kind, expressions, and, as I hear, very much to their satisfaction; but yet I am not able to say what the issue of affairs will be. I do not like the complexion and constitution of things. Settlement, I fear, is not in some men's minds, nor ever will be. I trust those who would be glad to see it, will be taught to submit themselves to the all-wise disposing hand of

[1] Journals of the House of Commons, vol. vii. pp. 496—514.

[2] Public Intelligencer, March 30, 1657; Mercurius Politicus, April 2, 1657; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. p. 355.

God."[1] And almost at the same time,[2] Henry Cromwell wrote to Thurloe from Dublin: "I bless the Lord to see his Highness hath such an interest in the affections of so far the major part of the Parliament, as that they should express so much satisfaction in his exercise of the present power, as to think it the concernment and good of the nation to entrust him with more. . . . . As for the matter and merit of the proposals themselves, I say in general that I do not like them the worse, because some of the great ones could no better digest them; for since they cannot allow of what a Parliament of their own modelling hath done, I look upon them as persons very unapt to be quiet, nor able to endure any settlement whatsoever. And, therefore, I think that the depraved appetites of such sick minds ought the less to be valued. . . . And I am so far from a tender sense of their dissatisfaction, that I rather esteem it a providential opportunity to pull out those thorns, which are like to be troublesome in the sides of his Highness. . . . . The Lord give him to see how much safer it is to rely upon persons of estate, interest, integrity, and wisdom, than upon such as have so amply discovered their envy and ambition, and whose faculty it is, by continuing of confusion, to support themselves. As for myself, for this also, as for all other things, I will more and more endeavour to resign my own will unto His providence, unto whom I commit you."[3]

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. p. 93. [2] On the 4th of March, 1657.
[3] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. pp. 93, 94.

What a remarkable example is this of prudent tranquillity on the part of two men so deeply interested in the event, and who were writing to each other with the most intimate freedom!

As soon as it had reached the conclusion of its labours, on the 27th of March, the House appointed a deputation to inquire of the Protector upon what day he would grant it audience for the purpose of presenting to him the bill. Four days after, on the 31st of March, at about eleven o'clock, Cromwell, surrounded by the principal officers of his government, received the Parliament at Whitehall, in that same Banqueting Hall through which, eight years before, Charles had passed, between a double line of soldiers, on his way to the scaffold. "May it please your Highness," said Sir Thomas Widdrington, the Speaker of the House, "I am commanded by the Parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and in their name, to present this humble Petition and Advice to your Highness. I am sensible that I speak before a great person, the exactness of whose judgment ought to scatter and chase away all unnecessary speeches, as the sun doth the vapours. I am a servant, however, and a man not to vent my own conceits, but to declare the things which I have in command from the Parliament. I am not unlike a gardener, who gathers flowers in his master's garden, and out of them composeth a nosegay. I shall offer nothing but what I have collected in the garden of the Parliament."

Widdrington then gave a detailed analysis of the eighteen articles of the petition. The restoration of kingship, and of a second House of Parliament under

the name of the Other House; the mode of election or nomination of the various members of the Parliament thus formed; the fixation of a permanent public revenue; and the exclusive domination of the Protestant religion, with a "provision for tender consciences;" —these were its principal recommendations, all of which he supported, with more art than taste, by quotations from the most heterogeneous authorities— Abraham and Aristotle, the Bible and Magna Charta, the doctrines of Christianity, and the legal traditions of England. "I have now done," he said, "with the several pieces of the government, but not with the articles. There remaineth yet one. The Parliament hath so good an apprehension of this frame of government in all the articles of it, that it is their humble desire that you may be pleased to accept of them all. They are bound up in one link or chain; or, like a building well knit and cemented, if one stone be taken out, it loosens the whole. The rejection of one may make all the rest unsuitable and impracticable. They are all offered to you, with the same heart and affection, and we hope they will be received by you in the same manner. They are all the the children of one mother—the Parliament, and we expect from your Highness an adoption of them all: *Aut nihil aut totum dabit.*"[1]

Cromwell immediately replied: "This frame of government, Mr. Speaker, which it hath pleased the Parliament by your hand to offer to me, — truly I should have a very brazen forehead if it did not

[1] Burton's Parliamentary Diary, vol. i. pp. 397—413.

beget in me a great deal of consternation of spirit; it being of so high and great importance, as by your opening of it, and by the reading of it, is manifest to all men; the welfare, the peace and settlement of three nations, and all that rich treasure of the best people in the world, being involved therein. I say this consideration alone ought to beget in me the greatest reverence and fear of God, that ever possessed a man in this world. . . . I have lived the latter part of my age in—if I may say so—the fire; in the midst of troubles. But all the things that have befallen me since I was first engaged in the affairs of this Commonwealth, if they could be supposed to be all brought into such a narrow compass that I could take a view of them at once, truly I do not think they would so move, nor do I think they ought so to move, my heart and spirit with that fear and reverence of God that becomes a Christian, as this thing that hath now been offered by you to me! . . . And should I give any resolution in this matter suddenly, without seeking to have an answer put into my heart, and into my mouth, by Him that hath been my God and my guide hitherto,—it would give you very little cause of comfort in such a choice as you have made, in such a business as this, because it would savour more to be of the flesh, to proceed from lust, to arise from arguments of self. And if, —whatsoever the issue of this matter be,—it should have such motives in me, and such a rise in me, it may prove even a curse to you, and to these three

nations—who, I verily believe, have intended well in this business, and have had those honest and sincere aims towards the glory of God, the good of his people, the rights of the nation. . . . I have therefore but this one word to say to you, that, seeing you have made progress in this business, and completed the work on your part, I may have some short time to ask counsel of God, and of my own heart. And I hope that neither the humour of any weak or unwise people, nor yet the desire of any who may be lusting after things that are not good, shall steer me to give other than such an answer as may be ingenuous and thankful, —thankfully acknowledging your care and integrity; —and such an answer as shall be for the good of those that I presume you and I serve, and are made for serving. And truly I may say this also, that, as the thing will deserve deliberation, the utmost deliberation and consideration on my part, so I shall think myself bound to give as speedy an answer to these things as I can."[1]

What were the thoughts which passed through the minds of Cromwell and his audience when this conference came to an end, we cannot tell. Three days after, on the 3rd of April, he wrote to request the Parliament to appoint commissioners to receive his answer; and, on the same day, at three o'clock in the afternoon, a very large committee, consisting of eighty-two members, proceeded to Whitehall. "My Lords," said

[1] Burton's Parliamentary Diary, vol. i. pp. 413—416; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 269—272.

Cromwell to them, "I am heartily sorry that I did not make this desire of mine known to the Parliament sooner. The reason was because some infirmity of body hath seized upon me these two last days, yesterday and Wednesday. I have, as well as I could, taken consideration of the things contained in the paper which was presented to me by the Parliament on Tuesday last; and sought of God that I might return such an answer as might become me, and be worthy of the Parliament. I must needs bear this testimony to them, that they have been zealous of the two greatest concernments that God hath in the world. The one is that of religion, and of the preservation of the professors of it, to give them all due and just liberty. . . . The other is the civil liberty and interest of the nation. . . . These are things I must acknowledge Christian and honourable; and they are provided for by you like Christian men, and also men of honour,—like yourselves, Englishmen. And upon these two interests, if God shall account me worthy, I shall live and die. . . . Now give me leave to say, and to say it seriously, that you have one or two considerations that do stick with me. The one is, you have named me by another title than I now bear. You do necessitate my answer to be categorical; and you have made me without a liberty of choice, save as to all. I question not your wisdom in doing so; I think myself obliged to acquiesce in your determination, knowing you are men of wisdom, and considering the trust you are under. It is a duty

not to question the reason of anything you have done. I should be very brutish, did I not acknowledge the exceeding high honour and respect you have had for me in this paper: . . . and by you I return the Parliament this my grateful acknowledgment. But I must needs say, that that may be fit for you to offer, which may not be fit for me to undertake. And as I should reckon it a very great presumption were I to ask the reason of your doing any one thing in this paper,—so you will not take it unkindly if I beg of you this addition to the Parliament's favour, love, and indulgence unto me, that it be taken in tender part if I give such an answer as I find it in my heart to give in this business, without urging many reasons for it, save such as are most obvious, and most to my advantage in answering, namely, that I am not able for such a trust and charge; . . . seeing the way is hedged up so as it is to me, that I cannot accept the things offered, unless I accept all, I have not been able to find it my duty to God and to you to undertake this charge under that title. The most I said in commendation of the instrument may be retorted on me, as thus: 'Are there such good things provided for? will you refuse to accept them because of such an ingredient?' Nothing must make a man's conscience a servant. And really and sincerely it is my conscience that guides me to this answer; and if the Parliament be so resolved, 'for the whole paper or none of it,' it will not be fit for me to use any inducement to you to alter their resolution. This is all I

have to say. I desire it may, and do not doubt but it will, be with candour and ingenuity represented unto them by you."[1]

The Parliament fully perceived all the perplexities and obscurities of this answer; they were used to discern and follow Cromwell's secret desire through the labyrinth of his conduct and language. A vote was passed "that this House doth adhere to their humble Petition and Advice:" a committee was appointed to prepare a written statement of their reasons for such adherence: and, after the report of this committee had been read and approved, it was determined that Commissioners should be sent to inquire of the Protector on what day it would be convenient to him to receive the House, that the Speaker might read to him "the paper containing the reasons, and deliver the same to his Highness, if he desired it.[2]

This new interview took place on Wednesday, the 8th of April. No official report has been preserved, either of the explanation of the reasons of the Parliament, or of Cromwell's answer; but the newspapers of the time give us to understand that the Protector's refusal was less peremptory than it had been on the previous occasion: he pleaded his infirmities and disabilities, and said that since the Parliament had thought proper to persevere in their proposal, all that was left him was to ask further counsel on the subject;

[1] Burton's Parliamentary Diary, vol. i. pp. 417—420; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 273—276.

[2] Journals of the House of Commons, vol. vii. pp. 519—521.

and from whom could he seek it, but from the Parliament itself? He therefore desired to be informed a little more particularly of the motives of their determination; and requested permission to state his own doubts, fears, and scruples. He was ready to render a reason of his own apprehensions, which haply might be overruled by better apprehensions; and he hoped that, when they both thoroughly understood the grounds of these things, something would be fixed on that might equally fit what was due from the Parliament and from himself, and might be adapted to the best advantage of the whole nation.[1]

It is evident that, on this occasion, the newspapers did not break through their usual reserve without the permission of the Protector, and that he allowed them to do so only because he thought it wise to submit this great question to the decision of the country.

On the following day, the Parliament voted, "That a Committee be appointed to wait upon his Highness, the Lord Protector, in reference to what his Highness did yesterday propose in his speech; and that this Committee have power to receive from his Highness his doubts and scruples, touching any of the particulars contained in the humble Petition and Advice formerly presented; and in answer thereunto, to offer to his Highness reasons for his satisfaction, and for the maintenance of the resolutions of this House; and such particulars as they cannot satisfy

[1] Mercurius Politicus, April 9; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. p. 359.

his Highness in, that they report the same to the Parliament."[1]

A solemn discussion thus began between Cromwell and the Parliament, which had undertaken to convince the Protector that he ought not to refuse to be King. A hundred Commissioners, including nearly all the important men in the House, and the great majority of whom were Cromwell's friends, were appointed to undertake this task.

At this very moment, however, a band of religious fanatics were bestirring themselves in London, for the establishment of a monarchy, which, they said, was the only legitimate monarchy,—that of Jesus Christ. These sectaries were called, and they called themselves, Fifth-monarchy-men. All other laws but the law of God, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and all other power but that of Christ, represented by the assembly of saints, were to be abolished by them. On the 9th of April, a score of them, under the command of Thomas Venner, a wine-cooper, met at Shoreditch, "booted and spurred," say the newspapers of the time, to proceed from thence to a general place of rendezvous; but a squadron of cavalry occupied the ground before them, and took them all prisoners. In a field near the place appointed for the general meeting, the soldiers found a large supply of arms, a quantity of pamphlets intended for distribution, and a standard "bearing a red lion *couchant*, with this motto: 'Who shall rouse him up?'" Some men

[1] Journals of the House of Commons, vol. vii. p. 521.

of greater importance, such as Vice-Admiral Lawson, Colonels Okey and Danvers, and even Major-General Harrison and Colonel Rich, who had been recently liberated from imprisonment, were compromised, either by their own acts, or by the words of the sectaries, and were also arrested. Two days after, Thurloe, by the Protector's command, gave an account to the Parliament of the plot, and of the measures taken to defeat it. Like an experienced politician, he did not attempt to exaggerate the danger, but declared that "the number and quality of the persons, who had resolved to begin this attempt, were truly very inconsiderable, and indeed despicable." He connected this movement, however, and not unreasonably, with the general state of parties and of minds; and he gave full details regarding the secret organization of these sectaries, and their relations with all the disaffected politicians of the day. The Parliament understood and realized Thurloe's intention. A vote of thanks to him was immediately proposed and adopted; and the Speaker officially addressed him in these words: "Mr. Secretary, I am commanded to return you hearty thanks, in the name of the Parliament, for your great care and pains in discovering this business, and the great services done by you to the Commonwealth, and to the Parliament, both in this and many other particulars." At the same time, the Commissioners who had already been appointed to wait on the Protector, were directed to inform him "That the Parliament hath received the report from

Mr. Secretary, and are very sensible of the great importance of it; and have ordered to take the same into consideration on Monday next."[1]

Under these auspices began, on the 11th of April, between the Commissioners of the Parliament and the Protector, those conferences which were to decide whether or not Cromwell should be made King.

It is an undignified and unpleasing thing to behold a comedy perseveringly played by serious men in a serious matter. Cromwell and the Parliament were both aware beforehand, of what was wanting to the government of England; they were both of them convinced that the restoration of the royal power could alone impart to it a regular and stable character. They employed a month in conversations and argumentations, just as if there had been any necessity for such mutual persuasion. In reality, the Parliament did not address themselves to Cromwell, nor did Cromwell reply to the Parliament; both parties spoke to the public outside Whitehall—to the opposing, but moderate republicans whom they hoped to gain over to their views—and to the entire country, in order to persuade it to adopt their desire for a new royalty, and to compel all the old parties to accede to it.[2]

Some embarrassment was manifested at the commencement of the first interview. Who should speak

[1] Journals of the House of Commons, vol. vii. pp. 521, 522; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. pp. 184—186.

[2] A detailed narrative of these conferences will be found in a pamphlet entitled "Monarchy asserted to be the best, most ancient, and legal form of government," published in 1660, and reprinted in the great Somers Collection of Tracts, vol. vi. pp. 346—412.

first? Ought the Commissioners to begin by explaining the motives of the petition, or ought the Protector to open the matter by stating his objections? On both sides there was a desire to feel the way, and to bring the other party to an explanation. Such a feeling is common during the final period of revolutions, when nearly all men, even the bravest, become sceptical and prudent, and strive either to elude or to diminish their responsibility. As it was easy to foresee, however, the Protector's desire prevailed. Whitelocke began the conference, and, on the first day, Cromwell did hardly anything but listen to the Commissioners of the Parliament. During the course of the five conferences which took place, between the 11th and 21st of April, nine of them spoke in succession, and all of them developed very nearly the same ideas. The lawyers, and especially Whitelocke and Glynn, were learned and judicious, but subtle and diffuse. Lord Broghill, in his triple character of warrior, courtier, and politician, was more precise and practical; he summed up, in these terms, his own reasonings and the arguments of his colleagues:—

"First. I humbly conceive that the title of king is that which the law takes notice of as the title of supreme magistrate, and no other; and that the old foundations that are good, are better than any new ones, though equally good in their own nature. What is confirmed by time and experience carries along with it the best trial, and the most satisfactory stamp and authority.

"Secondly. It was considered, too, that it was

much better that the supreme magistrate should be fitted to the laws that are in being, than that those laws should be fitted unto him.

" Thirdly. The people legally assembled in Parliament, having considered of what title was best for the supreme magistrate, did, after a solemn debate thereof, pitch upon that of king; it being that by which the people knew their duty to him, and he the duty of his office towards them, and both by old and known laws.

" Fourthly. There are hardly any who own government at all in these nations, but think themselves obliged to obey the old laws, or those which your Highness and the Parliament shall enact; so that if the supreme magistrate of these three nations be entitled king, all those who reverence the old laws will obediently and cheerfully accept of him, as that which is settled upon the establishment they own; and all that own the present authority will do the like, because grafted by it; by which none can rest unsatisfied that think it a duty to obey former authorities or the present.

" Fifthly. The former authorities know no supreme magistrate but by the title of king, and this present authority desires to know him by no other; which, if refused, might it not too much heighten our enemies, who may bolster up their faint hopes with saying to one another, and to those who assist them, that their chief is not only under that title which all past Parliaments have approved, but under that title which even this Parliament doth approve likewise; and that our head is not known by the former laws, and has

refused to be known by that appellation which even the Parliament, that he himself hath called, doth desire to know him by.

"Sixthly. By your Highness bearing the title of king, all those that obey and serve you are secured by a law made long before any of our differences had a being—in the 11 of Hen. VII.—where a full provision is made for the safety of those that shall serve whoever is king. It is by that law that hitherto our enemies have pleaded indemnity, and by your assuming what is now desired, that law, which hitherto they pretended for their disobedience, ties them, even by their own profession and principles, to obedience; and I hope taking off all pretences from so numerous a party, may not be a thing unworthy of consideration. That law seems very rational, for it doth not provide for any particular family or person, but for the peace and safety of the people, by obeying whoever is in that office and bears that title. The end of all government is to give the people justice and safety, and the best means to obtain that end is to settle a supreme magistrate. It would, therefore, seem very irrational that the people, having obtained the end, should decline that end only to follow the means which are but conducing to that end. So that if the title and office of king be vested in your Highness, and the people thereby enjoy their rights and peace, it would be little less than madness for any of them to cast off those blessings, only in order to obtain the same end under another person.

"Seventhly. There is at present but a divorce be-

tween the pretending king and the imperial crown of these nations, and we know that persons divorced may marry again; but if the person be married to another, it cuts off all hope. These may be some of those reasons which invited the Parliament to make that desire, and to give that advice to your Highness, of assuming the title of king. There is another, and a very strong one, which is, that now they have actually given you that advice—and the advices of the Parliament are things which always ought, and therefore I am confident will, carry with them very great force and authority. Nor doth this advice come singly, but accompanied with many other excellent things in reference to our civil and spiritual liberties, which your Highness hath borne a just and signal testimony to. It is also a Parliament who have given unquestionable proofs of their affection to your Highness, and who, if listened to in this particular, will be thereby encouraged to give you more."[1]

Cromwell listened to these exhortations with evident satisfaction, but at the same time with great perturbation of mind. He was not a man of simple and fixed ideas, nor did he go straightforward to his object; he wandered on all sides as he proceeded, making sure of his ground in every direction, and plunging into all sorts of indirect and even contrary paths. Whilst the Commissioners were speaking to him, his vivid imagination brought rapidly before his eyes all the inmost recesses and most various aspects of his position, as well as all the near

[1] Somers Tracts, vol. vi. pp. 363, 364.

and remote, probable or possible, consequences of the act which he was deliberating. He spoke several times, at greater length and with more diffuseness than even the lawyers, adopting and giving utterance to any reflections, recollections, allusions, or presentiments, just as they occurred to him; talking incoherently and obscurely, sometimes from impetuosity, and sometimes intentionally; now and then throwing out a few rays of light, but more frequently giving the very reverse of his real thoughts, like a man fully determined not to afford any positive clue to his intentions, and at the same time quite sure of being able, when he pleased, to produce a fixed resolution from the labyrinth of his mind. "If your arguments," he said to the Commissioners, "come upon me to enforce upon me the ground of necessity, why then I have no room to answer, for what must be, must be." He then summed up, in clear and striking language, all that the lawyers had said, with a view to prove that kingship was, in fact, a necessary title and office, so interwoven with the fundamental laws of England that they could not be properly executed without its authority. "But," continued Cromwell, "if a remedy or expedient may be found that this title and office are not necessary, they are not inevitable grounds; and if not necessary and concluding, why then they will hang upon the reason of expediency or conveniency. . . . Truly, though kingship be not a title, but a name of office that runs through the law, yet it is not so *ratione nominis*, but from what is signified; it is a name of office plainly

implying a supreme authority; and if it be so, why then I would suppose that whatsoever name hath been, or shall be, the name in which the supreme authority shall act—if it had been those four or five letters, or whatever else it had been—that signification goes to the thing and not to the name. I think the authority that could christen it with such a name could have called it by another name; . . . and it is known to you all that the supreme authority hath twice gone in another name and under another title than king, namely, under the *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ*,[1] and since I exercised the place (of Protector). And truly I may say that almost universal obedience hath been given by all ranks and sorts of men to both. . . . And as for my own part, I profess I think I may say, since the beginning of that change—though I should be loath to speak anything vainly—but since the beginning of that change to this day, I do not think there hath been a freer procedure of the laws, not even in those days called, and not unworthily, the 'halcyon days of peace,' from the twentieth of Elizabeth to King James and King Charles's time. . . . And if more of my lords the judges were here than now are, they could tell us, perhaps, somewhat further.

. . . . . .

"I am a man standing in the place I am in; which place I undertook not so much out of hope of doing

[1] This was the name substituted for that of king, in 1649 (when the Commonwealth was first established), at the head of the decrees of the courts of justice, and of all similar documents: it referred particularly to the Commissioners of the Great Seal, as guardians of the public liberties, by and under the authority of the Parliament.

any good, as out of a desire to prevent mischief and evil, which I did see was imminent on the nation. I say, we were running headlong into confusion and disorder, and would necessarily have run into blood; and I was passive to those that desired me to undertake the place which I now have. . . . . If you do not all of you, I am sure some of you do, and it behoves me to say that I do, know my calling from the first to this day. I was a person who, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred, and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater; from my first being a captain of a troop of horse; and I did labour as well as I could to discharge my trust; and God blessed me therein as it pleased Him. And I did truly and plainly, and in a way of foolish simplicity, as it was judged by very great and wise men, and good men too,—desire to make my instruments help me in that work. And I will deal plainly with you: I had a very worthy friend then; and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all—Mr. John Hampden. At my first going out into this engagement, I saw our men were beaten at every hand; and I desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's army, of some new regiments; and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in, as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. This is very true that I tell you; God knows I lie not. 'Your troops,' said I, 'are most of them old decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and,' said I, 'their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons

of quality: do you think that the spirits of such mean and base fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them?' Truly I did represent to him in this manner conscientiously; and truly I did tell him: 'You must get men of a spirit—and take it not ill what I say: I know you will not,—of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go: or else you will be beaten still.' I told him so; I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person; and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. I told him I could *do* somewhat in it; and truly I must needs say this to you,—impute it to what you please,—I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did; and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually. . . . .

"I will be bold to apply this to our present purpose, because it is my all! . . . I tell you there are such men in this nation; godly men of the same spirit, men that will not be beaten down by a worldly or carnal spirit, while they keep their integrity. And I deal plainly and faithfully with you when I say: I cannot think that God would bless an undertaking of anything (kingship or whatever else), which would, justly and with cause, grieve *them*. True, they may be troubled without cause;—and I must be a slave if I should comply with any such humour as that. But I say there are honest men and faithful men, true to the great things of the Government, namely, the

liberty of the people, giving them what is due to them, and protecting this interest, . . who very generally do not swallow this title. And though really it is no part of their goodness to be unwilling to submit to what a Parliament shall settle over them, yet I must say, it is my duty and my conscience to beg of you that there may be no hard things put upon me; things, I mean, hard to *them*, which they cannot swallow. . . . .

"Truly the providence of God hath laid aside this title of king providentially *de facto*; and that not by sudden humour or passion: but it hath been by issue of as great deliberation as ever was in a nation. It hath been by issue of ten or twelve years of civil war, wherein much blood hath been shed. I will not dispute the justice of it when it was done; nor need I tell you what my opinion is, in the case were it *de novo* to be done. But if it be at all disputable; and a man comes and finds that God, in his severity, hath not only eradicated a whole family, and thrust them out of the land, for reasons best known to Himself, but also hath made the issue and close of that to be the very eradication of a name or title. It was not done by me, nor by them that tendered me the government I now act in; it was done by the Long Parliament. . . .

"Truly, as I have often said to the Parliament itself, so I may now say to you, who are a very considerable representation of the Parliament, I am hugely taken with the word *settlement*—with the thing, and with the notion of it. And, indeed, I think he is not worthy to live in England who is not! No; I will do

my part, so far as I am able, to expel that man out of the nation who desireth not that, in the general, we come to a settlement; because, indeed, it is the great misery and unhappiness of a nation to be without such. . . . . And truly I have said, and I say it again, that I think this present proposed form of settlement doth tend to the making of the nation enjoy the things we have all along declared for. . . . . And this it is makes me in love with this paper; and with all the things in it; and with the additions I have now to tender you thereto; and with *settlement* above all things in the world!—except only that, where I left you last time; for that I think we have debated. I have heard your mind, and you have heard mine as to that; I have told you my heart and judgment; and the Lord bring forth His own issue."[1]

Cromwell then turned to the Petition itself, and examined its different dispositions, one after the other —especially those which related to the conditions of eligibility to a seat in Parliament, to the mode of examining into the qualification of members, to the nomination of members of the Other House, of the judges and of all the officers of State, and to the fixation of the public revenue; and on each of these points he indicated the modifications which he desired to introduce, nearly all of which were judicious, and dictated by a clear understanding of the conditions of public order, and the necessities of power. He also insisted, either from real conviction, or in compliance

[1] Somers Tracts, vol. vi. pp. 365—373; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 296—315.

with a popular feeling, which was especially powerful and current among the party which he was desirous to gain over, upon reform of the civil laws, and a reformation of manners,—complacently developing the salutary effects of a simple course of procedure in the affairs of common life, and of the exercise of vigorous discipline in the national morality. He then handed to the Commissioners a written copy of his observations and propositions. "And so," he said, "I have done with what I had to offer you,—I think I have, truly, for my part. And when I shall understand where it lies on me to do farther; and when I shall understand your pleasure in these things a little farther; and when you will be pleased to let me hear farther of your thoughts in these things, *then* I suppose I shall be in a condition to discharge myself, as God shall put in my mind. And I speak not this to evade; but I speak in the fear and reverence of God. And I shall plainly and clearly, I say,—when you shall have been pleased among yourselves to take consideration of these things, that I may hear what your thoughts are of them; I do not say that as a *condition* to anything, but I shall then be free, and honest, and plain, to discharge myself of what, in the whole, and upon the whole, may reasonably be expected from me, and what God shall set me free to answer you in."[1]

Two days afterwards, on the 23rd of April, the Commissioners, by the mouth of Whitelocke, made their report to the House respecting these conferences.

[1] Somers Tracts, vol. vi. pp. 389—400; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 327—365.

During the course of the affair, they had several times reported progress, and the House, with wise discretion, had done all in its power to support them, without embarrassing them in the negotiation. When it was informed, by its commissioners, of all Cromwell's fluctuations and obscurities, and of the impossibility of obtaining a distinct answer from him, it manifested at first some displeasure. It was quite willing to help the Protector to make himself king, but it did not wish to appear to be making him king in spite of himself, and thus to take upon itself alone the entire responsibility of the re-establishment of monarchy. It entered at once, however, upon the examination of the modifications which Cromwell wished to introduce into the plan of government recommended by the Petition. The discussion on this point was longer and more animated than any one had anticipated; even among the friends of the Protector, two classes of men, if not two parties, found themselves in presence in the Parliament—old partizans of monarchy, who had accepted the Commonwealth only from necessity, and against their will; and wearied, but not converted republicans who acquiesced in a return to monarchical government only from the same cause, and with the same dissatisfaction. Upon every question, these two tendencies were manifested and came into collision—the one party being anxious to save at least some fragments of the shipwrecked Commonwealth, and the others eagerly seizing upon this opportunity of restoring to monarchical power all its former force and vitality. Those among them, moreover, who had taken an active part in the deeds of violence and

spoliation committed by the republicans, began already to feel apprehensive of the consequences to which this monarchical reaction might lead, and at every step demanded effectual guarantees for the safety of their persons and their fortunes. Complicated and heated by all these causes, the debate was prolonged from the 23rd to the 30th of April, and occupied five long sittings, the last of which extended from eight o'clock in the morning to half-past eight in the evening, without any adjournment for dinner—"the first instance I have met with of such a sitting," says Thomas Burton, in his Diary.[1]

Cromwell was still more anxious and active than the House. Independently of his hesitation, whether real or affected, he wished the discussion to be protracted, and the question incessantly brought forward and discussed before the public, either in order to convince it, or to alarm it by the prospect of fresh catastrophes; a most powerful means of conviction, and one which the leaders of revolutions turn to enormous account. He ordered a report of these conferences with the Commissioners of the Parliament, to be printed and circulated; and the principal newspapers published the speeches which he had made. He attracted near his person, under a thousand pretexts, the officers of the army, whether known or unknown, favourable or opposed to his plans, and he made every effort to secure, if not their co-operation, at least their neutrality. Even with his most intimate confidants, on whose

[1] Burton's Parliamentary Diary, vol. ii. pp. 23—94; Journals of the House of Commons, vol. vii. pp. 523—529.

assistance he could rely, he took the most assiduous pains to keep up their confidence and zeal. "The Protector," says Whitelocke, "often advised about this and other great businesses with the Lord Broghill, Pierrepoint, myself, Sir Charles Wolseley, and Thurloe, and would be shut up three or four hours together in private discourse, and none were admitted to come in to him. He would sometimes be very cheerful with us, and laying aside his greatness, he would be exceeding familiar with us, and, by way of diversion, would make verses with us, and every one must try his fancy. He commonly called for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, and would now and then take tobacco himself. Then he would fall again to his serious and great business, and advise with us in those affairs: and this he did often with us."[1]

It was the general belief that he had fully determined to succeed, and that his success was certain. "I have seen letters," wrote Colonel Titus to Sir Edward Hyde, on the 10th of April, 1657, "from the Presbyterian party, that say, all things in order to the making Cromwell king go on without any opposition; that though the republican party in the House and army at first talked very high, yet now they are submissive enough, and begin to distrust their own strength to make good any opposition."[2] Sir Francis Russell, whose daughter was the wife of Henry Cromwell, wrote thus to his son-in-law, on the 27th of April: "I do in this (I think) desire to take leave of

[1] Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 656.

[2] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 335.

your lordship, for my next is likely to be to the Duke of York. Your father begins to come out of the clouds, and it appears to us that he will take the kingly power upon him. That great noise which was made about this business not long since is almost over, and I cannot think there will be the least combustion about it. This day I have had some discourse with your father about this great business. He is very cheerful, and his troubled thoughts seem to be over."[1]

Cromwell's habitual intimates were not so confident: "Certainly," wrote Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, on the 21st of April, 1657, "his Highness hath very great difficulties in his own mind, although he hath had the clearest call that ever man had; and for aught I see, the Parliament will not be persuaded that there can be any settlement any other way. . . . Many of the soldiers are not only content, but are very well satisfied with this change. Some indeed grumble, but that's the most, for aught I can perceive. And surely whatever resolutions his Highness takes, they will be his own, there being nothing from without that should be any constraint upon him, either to take or refuse it. . . . The truth is, his carriage in this debate was such that it gave great hopes to some, that he would at last comply with the Parliament; but that time must shew—for the present, we can but guess."[2]

These, however, were only the doubts of an old

[1] Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. p. 353; Burton's Parliamentary Diary, vol. ii. p. 118.

[2] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. p. 219.

politician, and the anxieties of an interested servant. The public did not share in them; it believed firmly in the fixity of Cromwell's resolution, and the certainty of his success; some even went so far as to say that "a crown was actually made, and brought to Whitehall," in readiness for the coronation;[1] and Cromwell, in his confidential moments, confirmed these public rumours, for he even went so far as to to say, after his third conference with the Parliament's Commissioners, that "he was satisfied in his private judgment that it was fit for him to take upon him the title of king."[2]

On the 30th of April, the debate on the amendments to the Petition came to an end. The Parliament requested of the Protector an audience, that it might present to him the amended document. The interview was a brief and cold one. Cromwell received the Petition from the hands of Whitelocke, cast his eyes over the last phrases, and contented himself with saying, hurriedly and in a low tone, "that the papers would ask some consideration, therefore he could not then appoint the time, but he would acquaint the House when he had considered of the time, and that in as short a time as might be, or as he could."[3]

It was of little consequence to him that most of his amendments to the Petition had been adopted; the

[1] Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. p. 354; Welwood's Memoirs, p. 116.

[2] Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 656.

[3] Burton's Parliamentary Diary, vol. ii. p. 101; Commons Journals, vol. vii. p. 529.

difficulty did not lie there, nor in the Parliament. Notwithstanding his persevering labour, he had not succeeded in gaining over some of the most popular leaders of the army; they persisted in their opposition, either from envy, personal dignity, republican fidelity, sectarian fanaticism, or resentment of his conduct towards the Major-generals. Some of them, Cromwell's near relations,—such as Fleetwood, his son-in-law, and Desborough, his brother-in-law,—grounded their resistance on their family interest, as they were convinced that the restoration of the monarchy would turn to the advantage of Charles Stuart. With the general mass of the nation, Cromwell had had no better success; they offered no resistance, but made no movement to promote the realization of his design: he had not succeeded in leading them to regard it as important and useful to themselves: so they looked on the undertaking with indifferent curiosity, as an affair of personal ambition and political partizanship. The people of England felt instinctively convinced that their condition would be but slightly changed by it, and that even if the proposed alteration were effected, it would not restore to them the two things which they held most dear—a true King and a true Parliament. It is impossible to rekindle at will trustful enthusiasm in the heart of a people; and the ablest often fail to persuade the very men whom they may frequently have deceived.

But Cromwell never renounced an intention. He could not bring himself to believe that this resistance in his own family was invincible. On the 5th of

May, he requested the Commissioners of the Parliament to wait upon him on the next day in the afternoon; and on that same day, he invited himself to dinner at the house of his brother-in-law, Desborough, and took his son-in-law, Fleetwood, with him. At table, with his usual gay familiarity, he joked about kingship, repeating his favourite phrase that "it was but a feather in a man's cap, and he therefore wondered that men would not please the children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle." But Fleetwood and Desborough remained serious and unconvinced. They assured him "that there was more in this matter than he perceived; that those who put him upon it were no enemies to Charles Stuart; and that if he accepted of it, he would infallibly draw ruin on himself and friends." "You are a couple of scrupulous fellows," said Cromwell, laughing; and he left them, determined to go forward, in spite of their opposition.[1] On the following day, he announced to the Commissioners of the Parliament, who waited on him in obedience to his instructions, that, on the next day, he would receive the whole House at Westminster Hall, in the Painted Chamber, and that he would then give his final answer to the Petition. The place appointed for this audience seemed to indicate that he had resolved to become king. Ordinarily he received the Parliament in the palace of Whitehall, in which he resided; on great occasions only, such as the opening of the session, or when any important event was in contemplation, he repaired to the Painted Chamber in Westminster

[1] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 248.

Hall, and sent a message from thence to invite the Parliament to come to him.[1] But on the 7th of May, at about eleven o'clock in the morning, when the House had met, and was momently expecting to receive this message, Lenthall, one of the Commissioners, announced that, that very morning, the Protector had sent to inform as many of the members as could be found, that he desired that the audience of the whole House might be deferred until the next day, and that the Commissioners would meet him again in the evening, at five o'clock, for he had something to say to them.[2] The reason of this postponement was this: while walking in St. James's Park on the previous evening, Cromwell had met Desborough, and had either plainly declared to him, or given him to understand, that he had made up his mind to accept the crown. Desborough, who became daily more strenuous in his opposition, replied, "That he then gave the cause and Cromwell's family also for lost; and that though he was resolved never to act against him, yet he would not act for him after that time." Upon which they separated, the one in fresh perplexity, and the other in great irritation. On his return home, Desborough found Colonel Pride, the man who, on the 6th of December, 1648, had, by his general's order, driven the whole Presbyterian party out of the House of Commons: he had recently been knighted by Cromwell, and he was now one of the intractable republicans. "Cromwell is determined to accept the

[1] Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. p. 365.
[2] Journals of the House of Commons, vol. vii. p. 531.

crown," said Desborough. "He shall not," answered Pride. "Why," said Desborough, "how wilt thou hinder it?" "Get me a petition drawn," said Pride, "and I will prevent it." They went together at once to Dr. Owen, one of Cromwell's favourite preachers, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford: the divine was of the same opinion as the officers, and willingly drew up the petition which they required.[1] Cromwell doubtless received some information of this, and hence his delay in giving audience to the Parliament. He did not even grant an interview to the Commissioners on that evening, although he had specially invited them to meet him. They had been waiting at Whitehall for more than two hours, when, a Barbary horse having been brought into the garden for him to see, he had occasion to pass through the room where they were in attendance. He "excused himself slightly," says Ludlow, for having made them wait so long, and begged them to return on the following morning.[2] They did return: and either while they were with the Protector, or as they were on their way to give an account to the Parliament of their interview, some officers arrived at the door of the House, and demanded admittance to present a petition. On being brought to the bar, one of them, named Colonel Mason, presented the petition which Dr. Owen had drawn up, and which had been signed by two colonels, seven lieutenant-colonels, eight majors, and sixteen captains. The officers withdrew: their

[1] Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 248, 249.

[2] Journals of the House of Commons, vol. vii. p. 531.

petition was read. It was to this effect: "That they had hazarded their lives against monarchy, and were still ready so to do, in defence of the liberties of the nation; and that, having observed in some men great endeavours to bring the nation again under their old servitude, by pressing their general to take upon him the title and government of a king, in order to destroy him, and weaken the hands of those who were faithful to the public,—they therefore humbly desired that the Parliament would discountenance all such persons and endeavours, and continue steadfast to the old cause, for the preservation of which they, for their parts, were most ready to lay down their lives."[1]

The House, in embarrassment, hesitated and waited. Cromwell, who received instant information of this occurrence, sent for Fleetwood, and complained bitterly that he had allowed such a petition to be presented: "he could and ought to have prevented it, for he knew well that he (Cromwell) was resolved not to accept the crown without the consent of the army." He therefore requested Fleetwood to hasten at once to the House, to prevent them from doing anything further in the matter; and he sent to the Commissioners to invite the House, in his name, to meet him on that very day, at Whitehall, to receive his definitive answer. Fleetwood obeyed; the Commissioners and the whole House obeyed; and, as soon as they were assembled in the Banqueting-hall, Cromwell came in.

[1] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 249; Journals of the House of Commons, vol. vii. p. 531; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 365—367.

"Mr. Speaker," he said, "I come hither to answer that that was in your last paper to your Committee you sent to me—which was in relation to the desires that were offered me by the House in that they called their Petition.

"I confess that business hath put the House, the Parliament, to a great deal of trouble, and spent much time. I am very sorry for that. It hath cost me some trouble, and some thoughts: and because I have been the unhappy occasion of the expense of so much time, I shall spend little of it now.

"I have, the best I can, revolved the whole business in my thoughts: and I have said so much already in testimony to the whole, I think I shall not need to repeat what I have said. I think it is an Act of Government which, in the aims of it, seeks the settling of the nation on a good foot, in relation to civil rights and liberties, which are the rights of the nation. And I hope I shall never be found one of them that go about to rob the nation of those rights; but always to serve it what I can to the attaining of them. It has also been exceedingly well provided there for the safety and security of honest men, in that great natural and religious liberty, which is liberty of conscience. These are the great fundamentals, and I must bear my testimony to them—as I have done, and shall do still—so long as God lets me live in this world: that the intentions and the things are very honourable and honest, and the product worthy of a Parliament.

"I have only had the unhappiness, both in my con-

ferences with your committees, and in the best thoughts I could take to myself, not to be convinced of the necessity of that thing which hath so often been insisted on by you, to wit, the title of King, as in itself so necessary as it seems to be apprehended by you. And yet I do, with all honour and respect, testify that, *cæteris paribus*, no private judgment is to be in the balance with the judgment of Parliament. But in things that respect particular persons, every man who is to give an account to God of his actions must in some measure be able to prove his own work, and to have an approbation in his own conscience of that which he is to do or to forbear. And whilst you are granting others liberties, surely you will not deny me this—it being not only a liberty, but a duty, and such a duty as I cannot without sinning forbear,—to examine my own heart, and thoughts, and judgment, in every work which I am to set my hand to, or to appear in or for.

"I must confess, therefore, that I have truly thought, and I do still think, that if I should do anything on this account to answer your expectation, at the best I should do it doubtingly. And certainly whatsoever is so, is not of faith. And whatsoever is not of faith, is sin to him that doth it.

"I, lying under this consideration, think it my duty—only I could have wished I had done it sooner, for the sake of the House, who have laid such infinite obligations on me; I wish I had done it sooner for your sake, and for saving time and trouble; and for the Committee's sake, to whom I must acknowledge I

have been unreasonably troublesome—but truly this is my answer, that (although I think the Act of Government doth consist of very excellent parts, in all but that one thing, of the title as to me) I should not be an honest man, if I did not tell you that I cannot accept of the government, nor undertake the trouble and charge of it—as to which I have a little more experimented than everybody, what troubles and difficulties do befall men under such trusts, and in such undertakings—I say I am persuaded to return this answer to you: that I cannot undertake this government with the title of King. And that is mine answer to this great and weighty business."[1]

The House withdrew in silence, and postponed all further deliberation on the subject to the 13th of May. Six weeks were passed in insipid debates, which were uninteresting even to those who took part in them. The title of Lord-Protector was substituted for that of King, in the Petition and Advice;[2] and Major-General Jephson ironically proposed that the four letters which formed the word *King*, should be expunged from the alphabet, as many persons "were so out of love with them."[3] It was also demanded that certain conditions should be attached to the appointment of members of the Other House. This was a subject of great anxiety to the old republican party; they feared that many of the old nobility might be invited to sit in this new House; and, in

[1] Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol iii. pp. 367, 370; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 250.

[2] May 22, 1657; Burton's Diary, vol. ii. p. 119.

[3] May 27, 1657; ibid., vol. ii. p. 140.

order to exclude them altogether, or at least to humiliate before admitting them, it was proposed that they should be required to approve of the execution of the late king, of the expulsion of his family, and of the abolition of the House of Lords.[1] It was also discussed whether the Protectorate, thus modified in its constitution, would be a new government; and whether it would be necessary for the Protector and the members of the two Houses to take a new oath.[2] These debates were marked by greater obstinacy than animation; the House was impatient to dissolve. "I move," said Lenthall, on the 26th of May, "that all private business may be laid aside. The weather grows hot. I hope we shall not sit all summer. I would have public business, as moneys and the like, and the clamours for the public faith, attended to." "I second the motion," said Sir Thomas Wroth, "that all private business be laid aside, and that we go to those affairs that are most public. It is all that the people are like to have for their moneys. They are likely to pay well for it."[3] When these various questions had been resolved, on the 25th of May, 1657, the House met once more, to present the Protector with the Humble Petition and Advice, in its modified form; a serjeant came to acquaint the House that "his Highness was in the House of Lords, waiting to receive them." This misnomer was received in profound silence; but

[1] June 24, 1657; Burton's Diary, vol. ii. pp. 298—300.

[2] June 23, 24, 1657; Commons Journals, vol. vii. pp. 570—574; Burton's Diary, vol. ii. pp. 280, 284, 295.

[3] May 26, 1657; Burton's Diary, vol. ii. pp. 124, 125.

it was excused as a mistake on the part of the serjeant, who had been directed to request the House to attend the Protector in the Painted Chamber.[1] They proceeded thither at once. "I desire to offer a word or two unto you," said Cromwell, "which shall be but a word. I did well bethink myself before I came hither to-day, that I came not as to a triumph, but with the most serious thoughts that ever I had in all my life, to undertake one of the greatest tasks that ever was laid upon the back of a human creature." He dwelt upon the idea with melancholy firmness, declaring himself incapable of efficiently discharging his duty, without the support of the Almighty, and the co-operation of the Parliament, which, he said, had already shown great forwardness and readiness to assist him, but which still had much to do "for the good of these nations, and the carrying on of this government." "I do heartily and earnestly desire," he said, in conclusion, "that God may crown your work, and bless you, that, in your own time, and with what speed you judge fit, these things may be provided for." He then gave his formal consent to the new constitution of the Protectorate, and returned to Whitehall.[2]

Whilst, under an air of pious indifference to the disappointment he had experienced, Cromwell was still giving utterance to his unextinguishable hopes, a pamphlet, entitled "Killing no Murder," was widely

[1] May 25, 1657; Burton's Diary, vol. ii. p. 123.

[2] Commons Journals, vol. vii. pp. 539, 540. By a singular omission, this speech is not included in Mr. Carlyle's Collection of Cromwell's Letters and Speeches. It should be Speech XV. vol. iii. p. 372.

circulated in all directions. It opened with a dedication "To his Highness, Oliver Cromwell," in these terms: "My intention is to procure your Highness that justice that nobody yet does you, and to let the people see, the longer they defer it, the greater injury they do both themselves and you. To your Highness justly belongs the honour of dying for the people; and it cannot but be an unspeakable consolation to you, in the last moments of your life, to consider with how much benefit to the world you are likely to leave it. It is then only, my Lord, the titles you now usurp will be truly yours; you will then be, indeed, the deliverer of your country, and free it from a bondage little inferior to that from which Moses delivered his. You will then be that true reformer which you would now be thought; religion shall then be restored, liberty asserted, and Parliaments have those privileges they have fought for. All this we hope from your Highness's happy expiration. To hasten this great good, is the chief end of my writing this paper; and if it have the effects I hope it will, your Highness will quickly be out of the reach of men's malice, and your enemies will only be able to wound you in your memory, which strokes you will not feel." Widely circulated and eagerly read, this publication inspired the friends of the Protector with great alarm. "It is the most dangerous pamphlet that ever has been printed in these times," wrote Morland to Pell, on the 1st of June, 1657; "and I think the devil himself could not have shown more rancour, malice, and wickedness than is in it." The indefatigable deviser of all

these projects of assassination and revolt,—Colonel Sexby, was, there is reason to believe, the author of this pamphlet; but he had reckoned too rashly on his ability to instigate assassins, and on his adroitness to escape Cromwell's police; he was detected in London, arrested, and sent to the Tower, in July, 1657; and in January, 1658, he died in imprisonment; declaring, sometimes with pride, and sometimes with sorrow, that he had originated Sindercombe's plot, and written the celebrated pamphlet.[1]

Amidst this hostile agitation, on the 26th of June, 1657, an estrade was erected in Westminster Hall. The royal chair of Scotland, brought for the purpose from Westminster Abbey, was placed upon it, beneath "a prince-like canopy of state." In front of the chair, but a little below it, stood a table "covered with pink-coloured velvet of Genoa, fringed with fringe of gold." On this table were the Bible, sword, and sceptre of the Commonwealth. Before the table, on a chair, sate Sir Thomas Widdrington, the Speaker of the Parliament. At some distance were seats, "built scaffold-wise, like an amphitheatre," for the members of both Houses of Parliament. Below,

[1] Harleian Miscellany, vol. iv. pp. 289—305; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. pp. 485, 560; Burton's Diary, vol. ii. pp. 312—314; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. p. 390. This pamphlet has frequently been attributed to Colonel Silas Titus, a Presbyterian Royalist, who, after the Restoration, claimed its authorship, and was probably indebted to this assertion for his appointment as groom of the bedchamber to Charles II. But an attentive examination of the circumstances and evidence relating to the case leads me to think, with Mr. Godwin, that Sexby was the real author of "Killing no Murder."

places were reserved for the aldermen of the city of London, and other spectators.

At about two o'clock, Cromwell entered the hall, preceded and followed by a numerous and brilliant company. The members, or lords of the Other House, walked immediately behind him; and after them came the knights, citizens, and burgesses, elected to sit in Parliament for the counties, cities, and boroughs of the Commonwealth. In the midst of loud acclamations, Cromwell sate down in the chair of state. On his left stood the Lord Mayor of London, and the Dutch Ambassador; and on his right the French Ambassador, and Robert, Earl of Warwick, who, during the procession, had borne the sword before him. The Speaker, in the name of the Parliament, then presented to Cromwell "a rich and costly robe of purple velvet, lined with ermines; a Bible, ornamented with bosses and clasps, richly gilt; a rich and costly sword, and a sceptre of massy gold." He made a speech upon these four emblems, then took the Bible, and administered to Cromwell the following oath:—

"I do in the presence and by the name of God Almighty, promise and swear, that, to the utmost of my power, I will uphold and maintain the true, reformed, Protestant, Christian religion, in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament: and encourage the profession and professors of the same;—and that, to the utmost of my power, I will endeavour, as chief magistrate of these three nations, the maintenance and preservation of the just rights and privileges of the people

thereof; and shall, in all things, according to my best knowledge and power, govern the people of these nations according to law."

Cromwell took the oath. Dr. Manton delivered a prayer. The heralds, by loud sound of trumpet, proclaimed his Highness, Oliver Cromwell, Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging. To which the the people replied with shouts,—"Long live his Highness! huzza!" Cromwell rose, bowed to the assembly, came down from the estrade, and, with his retinue, returned in procession to Whitehall. The members of Parliament returned to the House, and adjourned to the 20th of January following.[1]

Thus was inaugurated, for the second time, the Protectorate of Cromwell, as established by the new constitution which had been agreed upon by Cromwell and the Parliament. The two Houses were restored. The government was concentrated in the hands of the Protector. He had the right of appointing his successor. The State was no longer a Commonwealth; it only required hereditary succession, and the title of king, to make it a monarchy.

Cromwell had formally refused that title. To all appearance, his honour was unscathed; neither had he suffered any diminution of his power. The House, though abandoned by him after he had instigated it to act as it had done, either did not desire, or did not

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxi. pp. 148, 152—159; Commons Journals, vol. vii. pp. 577, 578; Burton's Diary, vol. ii. pp. 511—515; Whitelocke, pp. 662—664; Cromwelliana, pp. 165—167.

dare, to manifest any resentment. All disturbance in the army ceased; satisfied, but not intoxicated, with their success, the opposing officers now rallied round the Protector; he continued powerful and formidable as ever. Yet he had received a severe blow. His enemies taxed him with irresolution and pusillanimity. "The Major-generals and officers of the army," wrote Mr. Broderick to Sir Edward Hyde, on the 7th of May, 1657, "laugh at his hopes, and despise him for his fears; in the opinions of the impartial, he is a wild and wanton lavisher of his good fortune."[1] His most intimate friends were surprised and grieved to find him hesitate and draw back, after having gone so far. "Every wise man without doors," wrote Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, on the 29th of April, 1657, "wonders at the delay. If this Parliament settle us not, there is no hopes to have any settlement by a Parliament; none will be ever brought to spend so much time about it, or to do half that this hath done."[2] Evidently, in the opinion of his contemporaries, Cromwell was lessened by his conduct in this matter; he had attempted more than he had been able to accomplish,—he had formed a desire, and abandoned it. When a man is placed in so high a position, and on so slippery an ascent, he must either mount constantly higher, or remain perfectly motionless; if he pauses in his attempt to mount, he will inevitably come down.

[1] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 339; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 192, 193.

[2] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. p. 243.

But Cromwell understood how to submit quietly to repulses which he was determined not to accept as defeats; and ever confident in the return of good fortune, his only thought was, as soon as it became necessary, to prepare for, and await its coming. He began his new work with an act of vengeance, which seemed bold, though it really was easy. Among the adversaries who had opposed his elevation to royalty, Lambert had been one of the most ardent and active; and his hostility would have been singular after the services which Cromwell and he had mutually rendered each other, if presumption and vanity were not enough to explain all inconsistencies. Lambert had promoted Cromwell's advancement so long as he fancied he would hold his position for life only, and that he, Lambert, might also one day become Lord Protector. It is one of the most pernicious consequences of the revolutionary success of a great man, that it makes every ambitious fool aspire to similar fortune. Lambert could not endure the idea of Cromwell's power becoming hereditary, as it would deprive him of what he regarded as his future position. Either voluntarily, and from ill-humour, or because he had not been invited, he was not present at the banquet which Cromwell gave to the members of Parliament, and chief officers of the army, after the proclamation of the new Protectorate; and when the day arrived on which the oath of fidelity was to be taken to the Protector, Lambert still remained absent. Cromwell sent for him. "I am well assured," he told him, "that your refusal does not proceed from dislike of

this new authority; for you may remember, that at the first, you did yourself press me to accept the title of king; and, therefore, if you are now dissatisfied with the present posture of affairs, I desire you to surrender your commission." "As I had no suspicion," replied Lambert, "that it would be now demanded of me, I did not bring it; but if you please to send for it, you can have it." Two days after this, Cromwell deprived him of all his employments; but careful to degrade while disgracing him, and in order still to retain some hold upon him, he allowed him a pension of two thousand pounds a-year; and Lambert, who had the meanness to accept it, went to reside obscurely at his country-house at Wimbledon, where he spent his time in cultivating flowers, and watching an opportunity for taking his revenge.[1]

Whilst he thus rid himself of a troublesome enemy, death delivered Cromwell from a stern witness. In the early part of August, 1657, Admiral Blake returned to England on board his flag-ship, the *St. George*, after having, on the 20th of April preceding, gained over the Spaniards, in the bay of Teneriffe, the most perilous and splendid of his victories. When within sight of Plymouth, Blake, worn out by wounds, illness, and devoted attention to the hard duties of a winter campaign, at the head of a disabled fleet, breathed his last at the moment when

[1] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 251; Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 361; Life of Cromwell, p. 358; Mark Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, vol. i. p. 366; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 192—210; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 415—418

the sight of the white coasts of his native land gladdened his dying gaze; and the same signals that announced his return, also announced that he had ceased to exist. His death was a source of public grief to England: Cromwell took a melancholy pleasure in paying the utmost honours to the remains of the republican hero, who had spent his life in rendering his country illustrious, by serving a power which he disliked. As the body was conveyed along the Thames to Greenwich, all the ships in the river lowered their sails in sign of mourning; and the corpse lay in state for several days, on the very spot where now stands the noble hospital for British seamen. On the 4th of September, Blake's obsequies were celebrated in Westminster Abbey, with all the honours with which official pomp and popular sympathy can surround a tomb.[1]

The new Protectorate was, to Cromwell, only another step towards the object to which he aspired; but it was an important step: he found himself at length in presence of a Parliament which was well-disposed towards him, as well as monarchical both in its constitution and sentiments. He had now to form that other House, which had just been restored in principle, and to prepare for the second session of the Parliament thus remodelled. This naturally furnished him with an opportunity for rallying men of importance to his government, and obtaining the support of some true

[1] Dixon's Life of Blake, pp. 361—365; Whitelocke, pp. 664, 665; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 215; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 418—421.

royalists for his future royalty. He sought for means of accomplishing this design, in his own family as well as throughout the country. Of his four daughters, two, Mary and Frances, remained unmarried; both were young and attractive in manners and appearance: Mary was witty, sensible, active, and high-spirited, fond of excitement and power, ardently devoted to the interests of her family, and a zealous supporter of the views of her father, to whom, it is said, her features bore some resemblance; Frances was pretty, sprightly, gay, tender-hearted, and easily impressionable. A young man of high rank, Thomas Bellasis, Viscount Faulconbridge, returned at about this time from his travels on the Continent, and, as he passed through Paris, he had expressed the most favourable sentiments with regard to the Protector. "He is a person of extraordinary parts," wrote Lockhart to Thurloe, on the 21st of March, 1657, "and hath all those qualities in a high measure that can fit one for his Highness's and the country's service. He seemed to be much troubled for a report he heard, that the enemy gave him out to be a Catholic, and did purge himself from having any inclinations that way. He is of opinion that the intended settlement will be very acceptable to all the nobility and gentry of the country, save a few, who may be biassed by the interests of their relations." Cromwell gladly welcomed his overtures of friendship, and on the 18th of November, 1657, his daughter Mary married Lord Faulconbridge. Frances, his youngest daughter, had at one time seemed destined to a loftier alliance;

Lord Broghill had conceived the idea of marrying her to Charles II., and effecting his restoration on these terms: it is even stated that Charles had signified his willingness to accept such a proposal, and that Lady Dysart (who, according to some authorities, was too intimate a friend of the Protector) had mentioned the matter to the Protectress, who had endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to induce her husband to consent to the match. "You are a fool," said Cromwell to his wife; "Charles Stuart can never forgive me his father's death, and if he can, he is unworthy of the crown." Failing the King of England, it was proposed that the Lady Frances should wed a French prince, the Duke d'Enghien, eldest son of the Prince of Condé; and a sovereignty, won in the Spanish Netherlands, was to be the price of this alliance. But this idea also fell to the ground, and Cromwell was thinking of marrying his daughter to a wealthy gentleman of Gloucestershire, when he was led to believe, by domestic gossip, that one of his own chaplains, Mr. Jeremy White, a young man of pleasing manners, and "a top wit of his court," was secretly paying his addresses to Lady Frances, who was far from discouraging his attentions. Entering his daughter's room suddenly one day, the Protector caught White on his knees, kissing the lady's hand. "What is the meaning of this?" he demanded. "May it please your Highness," replied White, with great presence of mind, pointing to one of the lady's maids who happened to be in the room, "I have a long time courted that young gentlewoman, and

cannot prevail; I was therefore humbly praying her ladyship to intercede for me." "How now, hussey!" said Cromwell, to the young woman; "why do you refuse the honour Mr. White would do you? He is my friend, and I expect you should treat him as such." "If Mr. White intends me that honour," answered the woman, with a very low courtesy, "I shall not be against him." "Say'st thou so, my lass?" said Cromwell; "call Goodwin! this business shall be done presently, before I go out of the room." Goodwin, the chaplain, arrived; White had gone too far to recede, and he was married on the spot to the young woman, on whom Cromwell bestowed a fitting portion. A short time afterwards, on the 11th of November, 1657, Lady Frances married Robert Rich, grandson of the Earl of Warwick, and heir to that nobleman's influence and estates. Although Lord Warwick was his particular friend, the Protector at the outset placed some difficulties in the way of this marriage, in reference to pecuniary settlements; but the anxiety of Lady Frances herself soon overcame his opposition. "I must tell you privately," wrote Mary Cromwell to her brother Henry, "that they are so far engaged, as the match cannot be broken off."[1] The Protector was certainly well pleased with the marriage, for it was celebrated with great pomp; and

[1] This letter, according to Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. p. 146, is dated on the 23rd of June, 1656; I am inclined to believe that this date is incorrect, and should be 1657; as I cannot understand why, under the circumstances, the marriage should have been postponed from the 23rd of June, 1656, to the 11th of November, 1657.

in the private festivities at Whitehall, he indulged in demonstrations of gaiety which were more indicative of his joy than of his good taste.[1]

Having thus established his daughters as members of the old aristocracy of the country, his next care was to seek among the ranks of the peerage for the means of strengthening and adorning the second House of Parliament which he had to form; in this he was guided rather by an instinctive acquaintance with the great conditions of government, than by vanity; he was anxious to secure for his power the adherence of men whose names were consecrated by time, and celebrated in the history of their country. Of the members of the old House of Lords, seven only consented to receive his writs of summons to sit in the new House. Its other members were, nine great civil functionaries, fifteen general officers, among whom were some of the humblest soldiers of fortune, who had risen to eminence in the civil war, a number of country gentlemen and substantial citizens of local importance, and the most notable of the actors who had figured in the last Parliament of the Revolution; in all, sixty-three persons, without counting eight of the superior judges, who sat as assistants. The Protector had great difficulty in forming this list: he sometimes met with great hesitation, and sometimes

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. p. 146, vol. vi. pp. 104, 125, 134, 573, 628; Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, vol. i. pp. 123—157, 311—319, vol. ii. pp. 388—402; Cromwelliana, p. 169; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 184—186, vol. v. pp. 365—369; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 421, 422.

with troublesome readiness, on the part of those whom he considered eligible for the office. "The difficulty proves great," wrote Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, on the 1st of December, 1657, "between those who are fit and not willing to serve, and those who are willing, and expect it, and are not fit." One of the most violent leaders of the opposition, Sir Arthur Haslerig, was nominated, but it was thought doubtful whether he would accept the appointment. "I pray write to him," said Lenthall, who was also one of the new lords, "and desire him by no means to omit taking his place in that House; and assure him from me, that all that do so shall themselves and their heirs be for ever peers of England." At length, on the 10th of December, 1657, at the latest period allowed by the Protectoral Constitution, the list was published; the writs of summons, which neither granted nor denied a hereditary character to the new peerage, were addressed to the members who had been nominated; and, on the 20th of January, 1658, the two Houses of Parliament met, one in the ordinary room of the House of Commons, and the other in the old House of Lords.[1]

The session was opened with significant formalities. The usher of the black rod came to inform the Commons that his Highness the Lord Protector was waiting to receive them in the House of Lords. They proceeded thither, and Cromwell addressed them in the old form:—"My Lords, and Gentlemen of the

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxi. pp. 165—169; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. pp. 647, 648; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 252.

House of Commons," just as the King had done under the monarchy. His speech was brief and unremarkable; he merely alluded to the prosperous state of the country, which at length enjoyed those civil and religious liberties for which it had fought so manfully during ten years. "I have not liberty to speak much unto you," he said, "for I have some infirmities upon me;" and he therefore had deputed Nathaniel Fiennes, the chief Commissioner of the Great Seal, to enter into further particulars. Fiennes began his speech in this manner:—"It is a signal and remarkable Providence that we see this day, in this place, a chief magistrate, and two Houses of Parliament. Jacob, speaking to his son Joseph, said—'*I had not thought to have seen thy face, and lo! God hath shewed me thy seed also;*' meaning his two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh. And may not many amongst us well say—some years since we had not thought to have seen a chief magistrate again among us; and lo! God hath shown us a chief magistrate in his two Houses of Parliament. Now, may the good God make them like Ephraim and Manasseh, that the three nations may be blessed in them, saying, God make thee like those two Houses of Parliament, which, like Leah and Rachael, did build the house of Israel." Fiennes spoke for more than an hour, giving a diffuse, subtle, and tedious, though really judicious and opportune, commentary on the merits of the new monarchical and parliamentary constitution of the Protectorate, on the dangers which threatened it, and on the course which it would behove the two Houses

and the country to adopt, in order to avert those dangers; then turning to the Protector, he thus addressed him:—"Sir, whatever you are or shall be, whatever you have done or shall do, and whatever abilities you are or shall be endowed with, are not from nor for yourself, but from and for God, and for the good of men, and especially of God's people among men. . . . . Wherefore, having our eyes fixed on that kingdom which is above, let us bend our course that way, with our faces thitherward, discharging every one his duty, in his place, diligently and faithfully, and finishing the work which God hath appointed us to do in this life, that in the life to come, we may hear that sweet and blessed voice directed unto us: '*Come, good and faithful servants, enter into your Master's joy.*'"[1]

Notwithstanding the solemn hopefulness of their language, the Protector and his Chancellor were, in reality, sorrowful; and they had reason to be so. By all minds, the future was regarded as more obscure and uncertain than ever: it was evident that Cromwell had not abandoned the idea of making himself king;—would he ever be able to overcome the obstacles which had so recently frustrated his purpose? His failing health gave fresh courage to his enemies, and filled his friends with apprehension: even his most devoted adherents hesitated to attach themselves more closely to his fortune. Of the seven noblemen whom he had sum-

[1] Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 392–399; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxi. pp. 169—194; Commons Journals, vol. vii. pp. 578—587.

moned to the new House of Lords, one alone, Lord Eure, took his seat; the other six did not appear; even Lord Warwick declared that "he could not sit in the same assembly with Hewson, the cobbler, and Pride, the drayman." In order to fill his Upper House with suitable persons, the Protector had removed from the House of Commons some of the ablest and most influential leaders of his party. And not only did his adversaries remain in that assembly; but those even who had been violently excluded from their seats, at the opening of the Parliament, now presented themselves for admission. He was unable again to exclude them, for they offered to take the oath required by the new constitution; and the Protector's friends, eager to avail themselves of this opportunity to wipe off the disgrace to which they had formerly submitted, loudly rejected all idea of a second exclusion. On the very first day of the session, six commissioners were stationed at the door of the House, to receive the oaths of the members as they arrived, and nearly all those who had been excluded, in September, 1656, now made no objection to be sworn. Great curiosity was felt as to what would be done by Sir Arthur Haslerig, whom the Protector had appointed a member of the Other House: he did not appear in answer to the summons, and remained for some days in concealment; but, on the 25th of December, he presented himself unexpectedly at the door of the House of Commons, and demanded to be sworn. Some difficulty was made about admitting him; he was, it was urged, a member of the Other House; but Sir Arthur peremptorily

insisted on his right: "I have been elected by the people to sit in this House," he said. "I shall heartily take the oath. I will be faithful to my Lord Protector's person. I will murder no man." He was eventually admitted, and took his place at once at the head of the opposition.[1]

The conflict had already commenced. On the 22nd of January, 1658, two days after the opening of the session, two messengers came from the House of Lords to invite the Commons to unite with them in an humble address to his Highness, to appoint a day for public prayer and fasting throughout the country. A great clamour immediately arose. "You have no message to receive from them as Lords," exclaimed several members; "they are at last but a swarm from you; you have resolved they shall be another House, but not Lords; it looks like children, that because they can pronounce A, they must say also B." No one ventured to remonstrate with this indignation; yet it was judged advisable to take time to reflect; and the House merely replied that it would send a speedy answer by its own messengers.[2]

Cromwell at once felt the full force of this incident; the republican and alone sovereign Commons were in revolt against the restoration of the three powers of the ancient monarchy; the new constitution of the Protectorate was attacked for its renewal of the past, and for its future tendencies. On the 25th of January,

[1] Commons Journals, vol. vii. p. 578; Burton's Diary, vol. ii. pp. 316, 346; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 252, 253; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches vol. iii. pp. 391, 401, 402.

[2] Commons Journals, vol. vii. p. 581; Burton's Diary, vol. ii. pp. 339–344.

1658, the Protector summoned the two Houses to attend him in the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall; and there, during more than an hour, he discoursed to them on the external and internal dangers which threatened England. Abroad, throughout all Europe, Protestantism was violently attacked, and in imminent danger; in Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, the House of Austria and the Pope still retained, or were regaining, the ascendancy; the most faithful Protestant ally of England, the king of Sweden, had been defeated in Poland, and was at war with his neighbour, the king of Denmark." "But it may be said," he continued, "this is a great way off, what is it to us? If it be nothing to you, let it be nothing to you! I have told you it is somewhat to you. It concerns all your religions, and all the good interests of England. . . . This complex design against the Protestant interest is a design against your very being. If they can shut us out of the Baltic Sea, and make themselves masters of that, where is your trade? where are your materials to preserve your shipping? where will you be able to challenge any right by sea, or justify yourselves against a foreign invasion of your own soil? You have accounted yourselves happy in being environed with a great ditch from all the world beside. Truly you will not be able to keep your ditch, nor your shipping, unless you turn your ships and shipping into troops of horse and companies of foot, and fight to defend yourselves on *terra firma*. . . . Your allies, the Dutch, have professed a principle which, thanks be to God, we never knew.

They will sell arms to their enemies, and lend their ships to their enemies. I dare assure you of it; and I think if your Exchange here in London were resorted to, it would let you know, as clearly as you can desire to know, that they have let sloops on hire to transport upon you four thousand foot and a thousand horse, upon the pretended interest of that young man that was the late king's son. . . .

"If this be the condition of your affairs abroad, I pray a little consider what is the estate of your affairs at home. . . . Is not this nation miserably divided into sects,—if I may call them sects, whether sects upon a religious account or upon a civil account? And what is that which possesseth every sect? That every sect may be uppermost, and may get the power into their hands. . .

"We have had now six years of peace,—of peace and the Gospel,—after an interruption of ten years' war. Let us have one heart and soul; one mind to maintain the honest and just rights of this nation. . . Having said this, I have discharged my duty to God and to you. While I live, and am able, I shall be ready to stand and fall with you in this cause. I have taken my oath to govern according to the laws that are now made; and I trust I shall fully answer it. I took my oath to be faithful to the interest of these nations—to be faithful to the government; and I trust, by the grace of God, as I have taken my oath to serve the Commonwealth upon such an account, I shall—I must! see it done according to the articles of government; that every just interest may be pre-

served, that a godly ministry may be upheld, and not affronted by seducing and seduced spirits; that all men may be preserved in their just rights, whether civil or spiritual; upon this account did I take oath, and swear to this government; and so, having declared my heart and mind to you in this, I have no more to say, but to pray, God Almighty bless you."[1]

Views so sensible and resolute should have produced a deep impression, but they were confusedly and tediously expressed; Cromwell, indeed, had frequently said the same things already, and although true, they were trite, for he had made too much use of them. Confidence, moreover, was not felt in the speaker; even those who thought that Cromwell was right, doubted him while listening to him, and were unwilling to trust him. In his words, too, there breathed an air of fatigue which greatly weakened their influence. They were far from producing the effect intended: on their return to the House after this conference, the Commons resumed, with redoubled asperity, their debate regarding the House of Lords. The question was not allowed to remain a simple question of practical policy and present utility; it was made, at the same time, historical and speculative; the Long Parliament, the old House of Lords, the Episcopal Church, the national sovereignty, indeed, the whole of the revolution and civil war, were introduced as topics in the discussion. "We

[1] Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 402—425; Commons Journals, vol. vii. pp. 587—589; Burton's Diary, vol. ii. pp. 351—371.

must lay things bare and naked," said Mr. Scott, on the 29th of January, 1658. "The Lords would not join in the trial of the King. We were either to lay all the blood of ten years' war upon ourselves, or upon some other object. We called the King of England to our bar, and arraigned him. He was for his obstinacy and guilt condemned and executed; and so let all the enemies of God perish! Upon this, the Lords' House adjourned, and never met; and hereby came a farewell of all those peers; and it was hoped the people of England should never again have a negative upon them." Sir Arthur Haslerig was not less violent than Scott. "Well it is," he exclaimed, "for Pym, Strode, and Hampden, my fellow-traitors, impeached by the King—they are dead! Yet I am glad I am alive to say this at this day. You know how useless and pernicious the House of Lords was. The saint-like army, who were not mercenary, were sensible of those grievances. The Lords willingly lain down their lives; and the army desired they might have a decent interment; which was done accordingly. And shall we now rake them up, after they have so long lain in the grave? Will it not be infamous all the nation over? Shall we be a grand jury again? There is not a man in this House but has sworn against it. Why do we keep out the Cavaliers?" This vehemence on the part of the republican revolutionaries gave rise to equally strong language on the other side. "The Lords are a House of Parliament," said Colonel Shapcott, on the 30th of January; "it is clear, nothing can be clearer; and if

so, it was never known that two Houses of Commons were in England. You cannot own them to be a House of Parliament, unless you call them a House of Lords." "The title *Other House* signifies nothing," said Mr. Nanfan, "it is absurd and repugnant; for when you come to these doors, then you are the other House to them." "Some say," exclaimed Major Beake, on the 2nd of February, "set not up a King or a House of Lords, for God hath poured contempt upon them. Let me retort upon such persons: God has also poured contempt upon a Commonwealth. Was there so much as one drop of blood when it went out? Nay; I am confident it did extinguish with the least noise that ever Commonwealth did." "We are a free Parliament," said Mr. Gewen, "and I move we draw up a bill to invest his Highness with the title and dignity of King—Providence having cast it upon him."[1]

During five days, the House was a constant scene of similar violence and recrimination. On the one hand, was revolutionary obstinacy assuming and believing itself to be republican heroism, and endeavouring to link the destiny of the country, at any cost and for ever, with its own fate; on the other hand, was the rough, or sceptical, zeal of the soldiers and lawyers who were engaged in the service of a master whose success they had long shared, and whose decline they were beginning to foresee. In this conflict, the sincerer and more contagious earnestness of

[1] Commons Journals, vol. vii. pp. 588—599; Burton's Diary, vol. ii. pp. 387, 406, 407, 402, 401, 416, 424.

the old revolutionists prevailed; the House of Commons decidedly refused to recognize the House of Lords under that title; and on the 3rd of February, 1658, it voted that it would send its answer to the *Other House* by its own messengers.[1]

On the following day, the 4th of February, a little before noon, without having consulted or communicated with any one, the Protector, attended only by a few guards, proceeded to the House of Lords, and summoned the House of Commons to attend him. His speech was short and severe. He had hoped, he said, that God would make the meeting of that Parliament a blessing; and he believed that the Petition and Advice adopted by the House, had established the government on a fixed basis, or he would not have accepted the Protectorate. "I did tell you," he continued, "that I would not undertake it, unless there might be some other persons to interpose between me and the House of Commons, and prevent tumultuary and popular spirits. It was granted I should name another House. I named it of men of your own rank and quality, who shall meet you wherever you go, and shake hands with you; and who will not only be a balance unto you, but to me and to themselves. . . . If there had been in you any intention of settlement, you would have settled upon this basis. . . . Yet, instead of owning this actual settlement, some must have I know not what; and you have not only disjointed yourselves, but the whole nation. . . And this at a time when the King of Scots hath an

[1] Commons Journals, vol. vii. p. 591; Burton's Diary, vol. ii. p. 441.

army at the water's side, ready to be shipped for England! . . . And what is like to come upon this, but present blood and confusion? And if this be the end of your sitting, and this be your carriage, I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I do dissolve this Parliament. And let God be judge between you and me!" "Amen!" answered some of the opposition members, in audible indignation.[1]

This hasty measure produced very great excitement throughout the country, and alarmed even the intimate friends of Cromwell himself: it appeared that, like Charles I., he was determined to break with every Parliament, and that no Parliament could exist while he held the reins of government. Some of his most trusted confidants, Fleetwood, Whitelocke, and even Thurloe, had endeavoured, it is said, to dissuade him from this step; they would have been glad to rest quietly in the comfortable positions he had provided for them; and they were tired of the new dangers and efforts to which he seemed disposed once more to condemn them. Cromwell was more ardently desirous than any of them, that the government should be firmly and finally established; but in his view, the only stable and definitive settlement was monarchy, with its inseparable conditions of strength and duration; his great mind and soaring ambition could be contented with nothing less; and in spite of all obstacles

[1] Commons Journals, vol. vii. p. 592; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 427—432; Burton's Diary, vol. ii. pp. 462—470; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. pp. 778, 781.

and delays, he steadily pursued his object, equally unable to abandon all hope of attaining it, and to pause in his endeavours so long as it was not within his grasp. He had just made an important advance; the system of two Houses of Parliament had once more become the legal and constitutional order of the country: he was resolved to maintain his conquest. Around him the revolutionary spirit was in a ferment of irritation and alarm at this restoration of monarchical institutions, which threatened it with irretrievable defeat; the Anabaptists, the Levellers, the religious and political sectaries of every denomination, were preparing petitions to protest against these retrograde innovations, and to demand the inauguration of a true Commonwealth, without either Protector or House of Lords. The opposition members in the Parliament, Haslerig and Scott among others, were the chief support of these hopes and intrigues—which were powerless so long as they could proceed only by seditious means, but which became formidable when, from connivance or want of courage, they found exponents and advocates in the legally-constituted authorities of the country. Cromwell was resolved, at all risks, to strike his enemies a decisive blow: when the factious Parliament had ceased to exist, he would easily be able to control the revolutionary mob; and at no distant period, he hoped to have another Parliament, more intelligent or more docile, which would enable him to take the last step towards his cherished goal.[1]

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. pp. 709, 775, 796; Old Parliamentary

Two days after the dissolution, he assembled a great council of his officers at Whitehall, and explained to them the reasons of his conduct: an invasion and insurrection were, he said, imminent. Charles Stuart was leagued with the Spaniards, the Spaniards with the Cavaliers, the Cavaliers with the Levellers and all the factious spirits in England; civil war and anarchy were about to re-commence, and the whole fruit of the labours and victories of the army would be lost to the country and to themselves. These were the evils which he had been anxious to prevent by dismissing a Parliament which fostered and encouraged them by its own opposition and disorders. Besides, he had only maintained the Instrument of Government which that very Parliament had voted and sworn to observe, and to which he had himself sworn fidelity. Were the army and its leaders resolved to maintain it with him? Were they willing to defend public peace, religion, and liberty, as well as their own rights and property; or would they allow England and their families to relapse into confusion and bloodshed? His words were greeted with great enthusiasm; nearly all present declared that they were ready to stand and fall—to live and die with him. Cromwell was never satisfied with appearances, and skilfully pushed his advantage: he had noticed that some of the officers had remained gloomy and silent; he addressed them personally, singling out Packer and Gladman among

History, vol. xxi. pp. 205, 206; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. p. 432; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 492–495.

others, the first of whom was major in his own regiment, and asked them what they would do? They replied that they were ready to fight against Charles Stuart and his adherents, but that they could not engage against they knew not whom, and for they knew not what. Cromwell did not press them further; but, a few days after, by a sweeping measure of purification, he removed from the ranks of the army all those officers who had appeared to be ill-disposed or wavering in their allegiance to him. Packer, among others, was deprived of his commission: "I had served him fourteen years, ever since he was captain of a troop of horse, till he came to this power," said that blunt and honest republican, after Cromwell's death; "I had commanded a regiment seven years; yet, without any trial or appeal, with the breath of his nostrils, I was outed; and lost not only my place, but a dear friend to boot. Five captains under my command—all men of integrity, courage, and valour—were outed with me, because they could not say that was a House of Lords."[1]

In such a posture of affairs, and to such malcontents, Lambert, in his solitude and disgrace at Wimbledon, was a leader naturally pointed out by the circumstances of the time. They went to him, and he received them with open arms. The more impetuous had devised a plot "to come with a petition to Crom-

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. pp. 786, 793; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. p. 433; Burton's Diary, vol. iii. pp. 165—167; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. p. 496; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxi. p. 205.

well, and, while he was reading it, to cast him out of a window at Whitehall that looked upon the Thames, and then to set up Lambert in his place." Colonel Hutchinson happened to be in London at the time, and became aware of this design; not that the conspirators took him into their confidence, but they inadvertently let fall some remarks in his presence, which aroused his suspicions, and led him to make further inquiries. Hutchinson, who may be regarded as the type of a Christian gentleman and sincere republican, had, ever since the expulsion of the Long Parliament, retired from the army and from political life; he detested the tyranny of Cromwell, but he regarded with still greater detestation the pretensions of the subaltern factionists who aspired to succeed him. "Cromwell," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "was gallant and great; Lambert had nothing but an unworthy pride, most insolent in prosperity, and as abject and base in adversity." Hutchinson went to Fleetwood, and without mentioning any names, advised him to warn Cromwell against petitioners, who might entertain designs against his life. Having given this caution, he was about to leave London, when Cromwell sent for him, "with great earnestness and haste, and the colonel went to him." The Protector "received him with open arms and the kindest embraces that could be given, thanking him for the advertisement he had sent him by Fleetwood, and using all his art to get out of the colonel the knowledge of the persons engaged in the conspiracy against him." Hutchinson, how-

ever, would give him no names. "But, dear colonel," said Cromwell, "why will you not come in and act among us?" Hutchinson told him plainly, "because he liked not any of his ways since he broke up the Parliament, as they would inevitably lead to the destruction of the whole Parliament party and cause, and to the restitution of all former tyranny and bondage." Cromwell listened to him with patient attention, affirmed that his intentions were good, and attempted to justify his conduct; then, leading him to the end of the gallery in which they had been walking, he embraced him in presence of a group of his courtiers who were standing there, and said aloud to him: "Well, Colonel, satisfied or dissatisfied, you shall be one of us, for we can no longer exempt a person so able and faithful from the public service, and you shall be satisfied in all honest things."[1]

When he had secured the officers of the army, Cromwell assembled the aldermen of the city of London, and explained to them the reasons which had induced him to dissolve the Parliament, endeavouring to alarm them for the security of the capital and the prosperity of their trade.[2] He was fully alive to the necessity of retaining the support of this powerful corporation; for, latterly, with a view to acquire influence in city matters, many royalists had bound their sons apprentices to London tradesmen; and opposition to the Protector was making rapid progress in the metropolis.

[1] Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, pp. 373—376.

[2] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxi. pp. 206–208; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 222—223.

It was the general belief that, in all these demonstrations, Cromwell greatly exaggerated the dangers by which public tranquillity and his government were threatened. His constant success, the unwavering fidelity of the bulk of the army, the submission which he met with in every quarter, and the numerous examples which occurred of defection and servility, on the part of both royalists and republicans, created an erroneous impression with regard to the real state of the country. Indomitable in their hopes as in their animosities, the hostile parties seemed to gain fresh vigour after every defeat; and as soon as they found the Protector at variance with the Parliament which had proposed to make him king, a plot, more serious than any of those with which he had hitherto had to contend, was formed against him. Notwithstanding the parsimony of the Court of Madrid and his own idleness, Charles II had at length collected a small body of troops along the coast of the Spanish Netherlands, and had hired transports to convey them to England. Rumours of an impending invasion began to assume some consistency; the royalists in England ardently encouraged the idea, promising to rise *en masse*, and secure Gloucester, Bristol, Shrewsbury, and Windsor, as soon as the king should set foot on English soil. Nor were the royalists alone in their entreaties and promises; several Anabaptist congregations sent a messenger to Charles II. with a long address, in which they gave humble but manly expression to their disappointments, repentance, desires, and hopes, and formally offered the king their

arms and lives to restore him to his throne. Charles hesitated, though not without some feeling of shame, to involve himself once more, in reliance on these promises, in dangers from which he had formerly so miraculously escaped. One of his most trusted councillors, the Marquis of Ormonde, relieved him from his dilemma by offering to go to London for the purpose of observing the state of affairs, and estimating the strength of their party on the spot, so as to be able to judge whether the moment had really arrived for the king to unfurl his banner in person. Hyde, who was less confident than even Charles himself, opposed Ormonde's journey, "as an unreasonable adventure upon an improbable design." Ormonde, nevertheless, set out in January, 1658; and, under all sorts of disguises and, by constantly changing his place of concealment, he contrived to spend a month in London, where he had frequent interviews with all the leading conspirators of all origins and conditions; and he returned to the Continent, convinced that an immediate invasion would have no chance of success, and that the king ought not to risk it; but that the Protector was tottering—that he was regarded with passionate hatred by large numbers of people—that the plots formed against him were serious—that he, Ormonde, had promised to return to England, to aid the insurrection in the western counties,—and that the moment would perhaps soon arrive for the king himself to attempt some decisive enterprise.[1]

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 237—243; Carte's Life of Ormonde, vol. ii. pp. 175—179; Carte's Ormonde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 118—130.

Ormonde spoke truly; no sooner had he left England, than the spirit of insurrection daily became more active and widespread. In the north, in Yorkshire, Sir Henry Slingsby, who for two years had been detained a prisoner in Hull, had intrigued with certain officers of the garrison to deliver up the town to Charles II., who would probably land there. In the south, in Sussex, John Mordaunt, a younger son of the Earl of Peterborough, was striving to rally the gentlemen in his neighbourhood to the royal cause, and had succeeded so well in his attempt, that the son of one of the judges of Charles I., Mr. Stapley, had consented to receive from Charles II. a commission to raise, for his service, a squadron of cavalry, of which he would take the command when the occasion arrived. In the western and midland counties, similar intrigues were pursued with similar success; Levellers and Cavaliers, republicans and royalists, old members of Cromwell's Council of State, and Anabaptist preachers, were engaged in the work; the most unexpected combinations were effected, and manifestoes, varying in expression, but identical in object, were prepared. Even in London, under Cromwell's own eyes, the conspirators carried their audacity so far as to fix the day and hour on which they were, some to occupy the principal positions in the city, others to seize the Lord Mayor and civic authorities, and others to set fire to the Tower, and gain possession of it whilst the conflagration absorbed the attention and efforts of the garrison.

But the vigilance of Cromwell's police had not been

exhausted by long use, and it was present and active wherever danger was to be apprehended. At Hull, two of the officers to whom Sir Henry Slingsby had confided his plan, had listened to his proposals with the sanction of their superiors, in order that they might afterwards give evidence against him. On being informed that Mr. Stapley had entered into negotiations with Charles Stuart, Cromwell sent for him, and threw him into consternation by reminding him, with menacing but friendly earnestness, of his father's opinions and actions; and he finally obtained from him a detailed confession of the designs in which he had taken part, and the names of the persons who had been the means of involving him therein. While Ormonde was in London, the Protector said one day to Lord Broghill, "An old friend of yours is just come to town." "Who is that?" inquired Broghill. "The Marquis of Ormonde," replied Cromwell. Lord Broghill protested that he was wholly ignorant of the matter. "I know that very well," answered the Protector, "but he lodges in such a place; and, if you have a mind to save your old acquaintance, let him know that I am informed where he is, and what he is doing." Cromwell had in his service Sir Richard Willis, one of the leading members of the Sealed Knot, a small secret Committee which had the management of the affairs of Charles II. in England. Willis had sold himself to the Protector on condition that he should communicate only with Cromwell himself, and should never be obliged to give evidence against any one. It was principally with Willis that Ormonde had com-

municated during his stay in London; and to purge himself of his meanness, to some extent, in his own eyes, he had urged the Marquis to leave London almost at the very time that the Protector himself sent him the same salutary advice by Lord Broghill. Cromwell was always glad to deal thus generously with those enemies whom he honoured without greatly fearing; but he nevertheless persevered in his stern and relentless policy towards all others. In all parts of England, the conspirators were thrown into dismay by numerous and unexpected arrests; royalists, republicans, and Anabaptists were all treated alike; Sir William Compton and Colonel John Russell, both members of the Sealed Knot—Hugh Courtney and John Rogers, two sectarian preachers, who had been active in the dispersion of seditious pamphlets—Portman, who had been secretary to Admiral Blake—Carew and Harrison, who had but recently been liberated from prison, and many other persons, then famous but now perfectly forgotten, were suddenly seized and committed to the Tower. And in London, on the 15th of May, 1658, the day fixed for the great insurrection, as the conspirators were betaking themselves to their posts, they learned that their leaders had been arrested in the house where they were met in secret conclave: all the guards had been doubled, the militia had been called out, and Colonel Barkstead, the Lieutenant of the Tower, marched into the very centre of the city with a strong body of troops, and five pieces of artillery. About forty conspirators and as many apprentices were arrested in the streets. This great

plot, so general and comprehensive in its character, was everywhere frustrated and suppressed, either before it could break out, or at the moment of its explosion.[1]

Then were renewed those melancholy scenes of political trials, condemnations, and executions which England, during eighteen years, had so frequently been compelled to witness. There was some difference of opinion in the Protector's council, regarding the jurisdiction by which the prisoners should be tried: from respect for the laws of the country, or with a view prudently to separate themselves from a tyranny so earnestly and universally attacked, Whitelocke and some others demanded that they should be brought before a jury. But Cromwell wished to make sure that his enemies would be punished. By virtue of an act of the Parliament which he had just dissolved, he erected, on the 27th of April, 1658, another High Court of Justice, composed of a hundred and thirty members of his own selection, and presided over by Lord Lisle, one of the Judges of Charles I. Stern regicides, irretrievably-compromised revolutionaries, disciplined officers, and tried servants, formed this Court, which, however, contained a few more impartial members; among others Whitelocke himself, who had the courage and prudence not to take his seat. During the period from the 25th of

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 242—245, 324—328; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 388—402; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. pp. 781, 786, vol. vii. pp. 25, 27, 77, 78, 82, 86, 88, 89, 144, 148; Whitelocke, p. 673; Carte's Ormonde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 118—134; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 492—527.

May to the 1st of July, fifteen of the principal conspirators were brought successively before this tribunal, and impeached by the learned Serjeant Maynard, in the name of the Protector. Sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Hewett, an episcopal divine of deservedly high reputation, and John Mordaunt, were the first placed at the bar. Mordaunt was a very young man, and but lately married; the earnest and intelligent activity of his wife, the confidential advice of some of his judges who were anxious to provide friends for future emergencies, a note which was secretly conveyed to him in court, and the voluntary or purchased absence of an indispensable witness, saved him: he was acquitted. Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewett were less fortunate; they boldly questioned the competency of the Court. "I desire to be tried by a jury," said Slingsby; "you are my enemies; I see among you many of those who sequestrated and sold my estates. . . . I have not violated your laws, for I never have submitted to them." Dr. Hewett's language was less haughty, but equally firm. "I shall be very loth," he said, "to do anything to save my life and forfeit a good conscience. I am looked upon in a double capacity—as a clergyman, and as a commonwealth's man—and I shall not, for my private interest, give up the privileges of those that are equal freemen with myself;" and he so boldly maintained his point against the Attorney-General and the President of the Court, that Lord Lisle at last told him: "I must take you off; you have been required—often required, to answer;

and having refused, in the name of the Court, I require the Clerk to record it. Officer, take away your prisoner." "My Lord," remonstrated Hewett—— "Take him away, take him away," repeated the judges. He was accordingly removed, and condemned to death, as Slingsby had been already. But, when the time drew near for his execution, the Protector had to resist the tears and entreaties of his own family. Sir Henry Slingsby was uncle to Lord Faulconbridge, who had married Lady Mary Cromwell; and after the official celebration of their nuptials at Hampton Court, by one of Cromwell's chaplains, Dr. Hewett had performed the ceremony a second time; for the Protector's daughters would not have believed themselves lawfully married unless a priest of the Episcopal Church had blessed their union; and Cromwell had given his consent, "in compliance," he said, "with the importunity and folly of his daughter." Moreover, Dr. Hewett secretly celebrated the Anglican form of worship in his own house, and Lady Claypole, Cromwell's favourite daughter, regularly attended this service. Not that she was, as has been stated, a royalist at heart, and favourable to the restoration of Charles Stuart; on the contrary, she was tenderly attached to her father, trembled for his safety, and rejoiced at his success. Soon after the plot of Slingsby and Hewett was discovered, on the 12th of June, 1658, she wrote to her sister-in-law: "Truly the Lord has been very gracious to us, in delivering my father out of the hands of his enemies, which we all have reason to be sensible of

in a very particular manner; for certainly not only his family would have been ruined, but, in all probability, the whole nation would have been involved in blood." But although she remained true to her father, Lady Claypole was generous and affectionate, and gave far greater heed to the dictates of her heart than to the requirements of political necessity. In concert with her sister, she made zealous efforts to obtain Dr. Hewett's pardon. Cromwell was extremely attached to his daughter; but he believed severity indispensable, and his own robust and hardy constitution did not allow him to estimate the effect which a strong painful emotion might produce on a delicate, sensitive, and sickly frame. He peremptorily refused. Hewett and Slingsby were beheaded in the Tower, on the 8th of June. Three weeks after, the High Court passed sentence of death on six other conspirators, three of whom were hanged, drawn, and quartered with all the barbarous ceremonies ordained by the laws of the time, to strike terror into all accomplices and beholders.[1]

For the moment, his object was attained; hatred was held in check by fear; plots ceased; the conspirators either concealed themselves, or fled. Cromwell took no great pains to discover them; he even allowed his High

[1] Whitelocke, p. 673; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 246, 251, 253; State Trials, vol. v. cols. 871—936; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 46, 65, 98, 111, 121, 159, 162; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 256; Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, vol. i. pp. 138, 143, 314; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 517—527; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. pp. 379—382.

Court of Justice to rest from its labours, and committed to a jury the task of trying the insignificant prisoners whom he had still in his hands. Once again, his enemies had failed; but he was too clear-sighted and strong-minded to delude himself as to the extent of his success: he did not attempt to slight the danger from which he had escaped; though safe for the present, and possibly for some time to come, he felt that peril was always imminent. The war between him and the implacable enemies arrayed against him, was a war to the death, and the chances were too unequal; they might murder him on any day, but he was constantly under the necessity of renewing his victories over their conspiracies against him. The consciousness of this position, which daily impressed itself more strongly on his mind, led him to adopt incessant and most vigilant precautions for his own safety; he wore a steel shirt under his clothes; whenever he went out, his carriage was filled with attendants, a numerous escort accompanied him, and he proceeded at full speed, "frequently diverging from the road to the right or left, and generally returning by a different route." In his residence at Whitehall, he reserved several bedchambers to his own use, each of which was provided with a secret door. He selected from different cavalry regiments, a hundred and sixty men, all of whom were well-known to him, gave them the pay of officers, divided them into eight troops of twenty men each, and ordered that two of these bodies, in rotation, should always be on duty near his person. And ever ready to

expose himself to danger in order to make sure that he was faithfully served, he frequently made the round of the sentries at Whitehall, and changed the guard himself. When he gave audience, which he constantly found it necessary to do, for he depended greatly on his personal influence, "he sternly watched the eyes and gestures of those who addressed him." He was ever ready to form sudden suspicions, and to take extreme precautions: one night, he went to confer secretly with Thurloe on a matter of great importance, and all at once he perceived Thurloe's clerk, Samuel Morland, sleeping on a desk in a corner of the room; fearing that he might have overheard them, Cromwell drew a dagger, and was about to despatch him, if "Thurloe had not with great entreaties, prevailed on him to desist, assuring him Morland had sat up two nights together, and was certainly fast asleep." This constant anxiety for his safety was repugnant to the character of Cromwell, whose self-regard, though all-absorbing, was averse to gloomy precaution or reserve; even in his falsehood and artifices, he was naturally free and open, and loved to be engaged in proceedings which betokened hardihood and confidence. But he was governed by an evident necessity, and he admitted it without illusion or compromise; and watched over his life with the same ardour which he had displayed in achieving his greatness.[1]

[1] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 257; Burnet's History of His Own Time vol. i. pp. 120, 121; Bates's Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum, part ii. p. 399; Welwood's Memoirs, p. 94; Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, p. 494; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. pp. 380—384.

He must assuredly have been moved by mingled feelings of displeasure and pride, when he cast his eyes on the other side of the Channel, and compared his perilous and precarious position at home, with the power and glory which he had won for his country and himself in foreign lands. It was at the very moment when he was so earnestly struggling against plots in England, that he obtained his most brilliant successes on the Continent. He had not been slow to perceive that, in order to wage an effectual warfare against Spain, his treaty of peace and commerce with France would not be sufficient, and he had readily met the proposals of Mazarin for a closer and more active alliance. In the month of August, 1656, proposals had been made for the levying, in England, of four thousand men for the service of the king of France against the Spaniards. The negotiation was tedious and difficult, and incessantly interrupted by mutual feelings of distrust; sometimes Cromwell suddenly drew back, on discovering traces of Mazarin's constant though secret labours to prepare the way for peace with the Court of Madrid; sometimes the visit of one of the secretaries of Cardeñas to London, led Mazarin, in his turn, to dread a reconciliation between England and Spain. In his long conversations with Lockhart, the Cardinal would vaguely hint at the great and indefinite advantages which the Protector might derive from an intimate connection with France; and Lockhart, though not his dupe, carefully treasured these insinuations in his mind, and communicated them to Cromwell with

complacent satisfaction. In spite of all their distrust and reticence, the two negotiators were evidently pleased with each other, and gradually coalesced, without, however, overstepping their design, on either side. At length, on the 23rd of March, 1657, the negotiation was brought to a conclusion, and a treaty of offensive alliance was signed at Paris between France and England;[1] Cromwell promised that a body of six thousand English troops, backed by a fleet which would always be ready to victual and support them along the coast, should join the French army of twenty thousand strong, to carry on the war in the Spanish Netherlands, and more particularly to besiege Gravelines, Mardyke, and Dunkirk, the last of which three towns was to remain in the hands of the English. The pay and expenses of this auxiliary force were to be divided between the king of France and the Protector. The conclusion of this treaty gave the liveliest satisfaction to both courts, and Cromwell soon after testified his pleasure by warmly recommending to Mazarin's favour the French ambassador in London, M. de Bordeaux, whose shrewd sense and diplomatic ability had mainly contributed to this fortunate result. The death of M. de Bellièvre, on the 15th of March, 1657, created a vacancy in the office of First President of the Parliament of Paris,

[1] In Appendix XXIV. will be found the complete and accurate text of this treaty, which has hitherto been published only in fragments, particularly in Dumont's Corps Diplomatique, vol. vi. part ii. p. 224; though, on the other hand, at p. 178 of the same volume, another treaty for the same purpose is given; but it is altogether apocryphal, and is falsely dated on the 9th of May, 1657.

and Cromwell, as it would appear, had even gone so far as to request this appointment, for Bordeaux apologized to the Cardinal on the subject, and said that the post of President *à mortier* would realize his most sanguine expectations. Cromwell's recommendation was excessive, and consequently failed; M. de Lamoignon was appointed First President of the Parliament of Paris. Mazarin had no idea of paying so dearly for a success, after his object had been achieved.[1]

About six weeks after the conclusion of the treaty, on the 13th and 14th of May, 1657, the English troops, under the command of Sir John Reynolds, disembarked at Boulogne. Both the court and the army, Mazarin and Turenne, were impatiently awaiting them, and received them with great marks of satisfaction: administrative measures, imperfect and inefficient, indeed, but at that time of rare occurrence, were adopted to insure their proper treatment. They were regiments formed and trained in the long struggles of the civil war, accustomed to the strictest discipline, of unblemished morals and determined bravery: some of them, at their departure from England, and the others at their arrival at Boulogne, had been newly armed and equipped. Louis XIV. came in person to see them, and passed them in review. "Sire," said Lockhart to him, "the Protector has enjoined both officers and

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. pp. 318, 369, vol. vi. pp. 115, 116, 126, 618; Dumont's Corps Diplomatique, vol. vi. part ii. pp. 178, 224; Garden's Histoire Générale des Traités de Paix, vol. ii pp. 10—12; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 532—542; Correspondence of M. de Bordeaux with M. de Brienne and Cardinal Mazarin. See Appendix XXV.

soldiers to display the same zeal in the service of your Majesty, as in his own ;" and the young king replied, that he "was transported to receive so noble a testimony of the affection of a prince, whom he had always considered as the greatest and happiest in Europe." The English lost no time in joining Turenne's army, and engaging in the campaign ; but misunderstandings and complaints soon succeeded mutual contentment: the soldiers were astonished to find the villages deserted by their inhabitants when they arrived ;— they were not properly supplied with provisions,— many of them fell ill, and some of them sent home pieces of the bread which was served out to them, to show how inferior it was to English bread. The officers shared in the ill-humour of the soldiers, and Cromwell himself became ere long dissatisfied ; the campaign was protracted, and yet the special promises of the treaty, that is to say, the sieges of Gravelines, Mardyke, and Dunkirk, had not been accomplished or even attempted ; the English auxiliaries were employed in the interior of the country, on expeditions which interested the Court of France alone, and which, when successful, were productive of no advantage to England. Lockhart protested and complained in vain ; on the 31st of August, 1657, Cromwell wrote to him : —"I have no doubt either of your diligence or ability to serve us in so great a business, but I am deeply sensible that the French are very much short with us in ingenuousness and performance. And that which increaseth our sense of this is the resolution we had, rather to overdo than to be behindhand in anything of

our treaty. And although we never were so foolish as to apprehend that the French and their interests were the same with ours in all things, yet, as to the Spaniard, who hath been known, in all ages, to be the most implacable enemy that France hath,—we never could doubt, before we made our treaty, that, going upon such grounds, we should have been failed towards as we are. To talk of giving us garrisons, which are inland, as caution for future action; to talk of what will be done next campaign,—are but parcels of words for children. If they will give us garrisons, let them give us Calais, Dieppe, and Boulogne . . . . I pray you, tell the Cardinal, from me, that I think, if France desires to maintain its ground, much more to get ground upon the Spaniard, the performance of his treaty with us will better do it than any other design he hath . . . If this will not be listened to, I desire that things may be considered of, to give us satisfaction for the great expense we have been at with our naval forces and otherwise; and that consideration may be had how our men may be put into a position to be returned to us;—whom we hope we shall employ to a better purpose than to have them continue where they are."[1]

This language did not fail to produce its effect. Mazarin easily allowed himself to fall into the embarrassments of a complicated position and a crafty policy; but he also understood how to escape from his

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. pp. 220, 287, 490, 618; The Perfect Politician, pp. 232, 327; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 542—545; Bordeaux to Brienne, August 23, 1657. See Appendix XXVI.

embarrassments as soon as they became real dangers. The French army was ordered to abandon its operations in the interior of the country, and to draw nearer the coast; Mardyke was besieged, and taken on the 3rd of October, and delivered provisionally into the hands of the English. Turenne then marched against Gravelines, but the Spaniards opened the sluices, inundated the environs of the town, and rendered a near approach impossible. Cromwell insisted that siege should immediately be laid to Dunkirk, and offered to send an additional two thousand men to assist in the enterprise. Turenne thought an immediate attempt would be unadvisable, and put an end to the campaign. Cromwell submitted without great reluctance; he had now regained some confidence in Mazarin's intentions, and he bowed to the high military authority of Turenne. On the 28th of March, 1658, the treaty of offensive alliance was renewed for a year, on the same terms; and when the campaign was re-opened, in the spring of 1658, Cromwell demanded their immediate performance. Turenne advanced towards the coast, "without knowing," he says, "whether we could besiege Dunkirk, for to attack that place before having taken Furnes, Bergues, and Gravelines, which are in its neighbourhood, was to be besieged at the same time that we were besieging. But his lordship the Cardinal desired that we should march into Flanders, and M. de Turenne also wished honestly to show the English that we were doing all in our power for the execution of the treaty." The two new regiments that Cromwell had promised,

arrived; Lockhart took the command of the English troops, with General Morgan, a valiant officer formed in the school of Cromwell and Monk, as his lieutenant. Dunkirk was invested on the 25th of May, 1658. Louis XIV. and Mazarin came to Calais in order to watch the siege. The Marquis of Leyden defended the town. At Brussels, neither Don John, nor the Marquis of Carracena, were willing to believe that the place was in danger. At once haughty and indolent, they condemned the advice which Condé was constantly giving them to act, now with vigilant activity, and now with prudent reserve: they would not suffer any one to disturb them at their siesta because some unexpected event had occurred, nor would they tolerate any doubt of their success when they were once up and on horseback. They hastened to the defence of Dunkirk, leaving behind them their artillery and a portion of their cavalry. Condé entreated them to remain within their entrenchments until these arrived; but Don John wished, on the contrary, to advance along the Dunes, and march to meet the French army. "Surely, you cannot think of doing so," said Condé; "the ground is favourable to infantry only, and the French infantry are more numerous and veteran than your own." "I am persuaded," answered Don John, "that they will not even dare to look the army of his Catholic Majesty in the face." "Ah," exclaimed Condé, "you don't know M. de Turenne! He is not a man to allow you to commit blunders with impunity." Don John persisted, and began to march along the Dunes. On the

following day, the 13th of June, Condé, becoming more and more convinced of their danger, renewed his efforts to induce him to turn back. "Turn back," cried Don John; "if the French dare to fight, that day will be the most glorious that ever shone on the armies of his Catholic Majesty." "Very glorious, indeed," replied Condé, "but to make it so, you must retreat and wait." Turenne put an end to this discord in the enemy's camp: having determined to give battle, at daybreak on the 14th of June, he sent notice of his intention to the English general, by one of his officers, who was directed at the same time to explain to Lockhart the plan and motives of the commander-in-chief. "Very good," said Lockhart, "I shall obey M. de Turenne's orders, and he may explain his reasons after the battle, if he pleases." The contrast is striking between the manly discipline of English good sense, and the wanton blindness of Spanish pride. Condé was not mistaken; the issue of a battle, fought under such auspices, could not be doubtful. "My lord," he said to the young Duke of Gloucester, who was serving in the Spanish army with his brother the Duke of York, "have you ever seen a battle fought?" "No, Prince," was the answer. "Well, then," rejoined Condé, "you will presently see one lost." The Spaniards were, in fact, utterly defeated, after four hours' hard fighting, during which the English regiments carried, with distinguished bravery but great loss, the most difficult and best-defended post of the enemy. All the officers of Lockhart's regiment, with the exception of two, were

either killed or wounded. The Duke of York, with his small band of English and Irish royalists who fought under the Spanish flag, contested the palm of bravery in hand-to-hand encounters with their republican countrymen. Turenne and Condé, each of whom, to use the expression of the Duke of York, had done, in his own camp, "all that it was possible to do, both as a general and as a soldier," worthily supported their allies. Before the day was over, the Spanish army retreated in confusion, leaving four thousand prisoners in the hands of the victors. "The enemies have encountered us," wrote Turenne to his wife that evening, "and they are defeated. God be praised! I have been rather fatigued all day, so I wish you good night, and I shall go to bed." Ten days after, on the 23rd of June, 1658, the garrison of Dunkirk was reduced to extremities; the old governor, the Marquis of Leyden, had been mortally wounded in a sortie; the place surrendered; and two days later, on the 25th of June, Louis XIV. entered the town, which was immediately placed in the hands of the English. "Although the Court and army," wrote Lockhart to Thurloe, "are even mad to see themselves part with what they call so delicate a bit, yet the Cardinal is still constant to his promises, and seems to be as glad, in the general, to give this place to his Highness, as I can be to receive it. The King is also exceedingly obliging and civil, and hath more true worth in him than I could have imagined."[1]

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. pp. 489, 524, 525, 537, vol. vii. pp. 52, 69, 146, 148, 151, 173, 174, 175, 178, 192; Histoire et Mémoires du

Cromwell had not waited until Dunkirk was taken, to manifest to Louis XIV. his proud satisfaction at the alliance which united them. As soon as he became aware that the King and Mazarin were at Calais, he sent his son-in-law, Lord Faulconbridge, as an ambassador extraordinary, to compliment them in his name. Two ships-of-war and three smaller vessels were assigned to convey the ambassador, his equipages, and suite of more than a hundred and fifty gentlemen. A violent tempest scattered the little fleet off Calais; and to his great disappointment, Lord Faulconbridge landed with a very small retinue, on the 29th of May, 1658, within sight of the King, Queen, and Court, who were in a tent on the quay. The Count de Charost, the governor of the town, came to meet him with eight or ten carriages, and conducted him to the lodging which had been prepared for him, and at the doors of which the King's own Swiss guards stood as sentries. Lord Faulconbridge brought letters to the King and Cardinal from the Protector, in which he insisted on the speedy reduction of Dunkirk, "that den of pirates." They both received him, in public and in private, with the greatest official honours and the most familiar marks of friendship. Louis XIV. walked with him for more than an hour in his garden, *tête-à-tête*, and uncovered.

Vicomte de Turenne, vol. i. pp. 360—375, vol. ii. pp. clviii.—clxvi; Desormeaux, Histoire de Louis II., Prince de Condé, vol. iv. pp. 118—144; Œuvres de Louis XIV., Mémoires Historiques, vol. i. pp. 167—174; Memoirs of James II. vol. i. p. 468; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 279—286; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 546—548; Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 821.

Mazarin, after a long interview, attended him to the door of his carriage "a ceremony," writes Lord Faulconbridge, "which he dispenses with, not only to all others, but even to the King himself." Louis XIV. presented the ambassador with his portrait, in a rich frame, and gave him a magnificent sword for the Protector. Mazarin also sent Cromwell a handsome piece of tapestry. It is the policy and pleasure of ancient courts to heap favours on any great *parvenus* whose friendships they need to gain. Louis XIV. and his Cardinal-minister did not rest satisfied with giving this splendid reception to the Protector's ambassador: a few days after his return home, they also sent an extraordinary ambassador to London, the Duke de Créqui, accompanied by young Mancini, the nephew of Mazarin, and bearing two letters addressed to Cromwell personally from the King and Cardinal. "Monsieur le Protecteur," wrote Louis XIV., "as I have feelingly appreciated the testimonies of your affection conveyed to me by Viscount Faulconbridge, your son-in-law, I have been unable to rest satisfied with having replied to them by his means, and I have desired to give you more express marks of my affection by sending to you my cousin, the Duke de Créqui, first gentleman of my bed-chamber, whom I have ordered to acquaint you particularly of the esteem in which I hold your person, and how greatly I value your friendship. I have also charged him to express to you the joy I felt at the glorious success achieved by our arms on that fortunate day, the 14th of this month, and how confidently that victory, and

the vigour with which Dunkirk continues to be pressed, lead me to hope for the reduction of that place in a few days: to which end I shall not cease to apply myself with the same care as I have devoted to it ever since the commencement of the siege. And although I have informed my cousin, the Duke de Créqui, of my intentions, as well as of the details of this affair, that he may communicate them to you, I cannot omit to tell you in this letter that the Lord Lockhart, your ambassador to me, greatly distinguished himself by his valour and conduct in this encounter, and that the troops which you sent me, following his example, gave extraordinary proofs of generosity and courage. For the rest, I promise myself that you will, as I beseech you, place entire confidence in what my cousin will tell you on my part, and most of all that you will believe that there is nothing that I desire more than to prove to you by my actions how dear your interests are to me."

Cromwell met these splendid demonstrations with great magnificence. Another of his sons-in-law, Fleetwood, went to Dover to receive the Duke de Créqui, with a train of twenty carriages, each drawn by six horses, and an escort of two hundred horse soldiers, who, with drawn swords, accompanied the French ambassador wherever he went. On his arrival in London, the Duke de Créqui was treated as Lord Faulconbridge had been at Calais: at his public reception, Cromwell rose from his chair, and advanced two steps to meet him, and afterwards seated him on his right hand, while his son Richard sat on his left.

At his departure, the ambassador received costly presents for his masters and himself; among others, six cases of pure Cornwall tin,—a solid gift, which Cromwell sent to Mazarin with familiar and somewhat contemptuous confidence, knowing him to be more avaricious than vain.[1]

In the midst of such success, won with so much vigour, and manifested with such pomp—on beholding the keys of Dunkirk delivered into his hands by France, to be kept by him for England—Cromwell began once more to think and to hope that a Parliament would sanction, support, and perpetuate his power. His most confidential advisers, and particularly Thurloe, never ceased to urge him to summon another Representative; notwithstanding all their master's triumphs, they were painfully conscious of the daily embarrassments of his government; they wanted both confidence and money. "We are so out at the heels here, that I know not what we shall do for money . . . We are forced to go a-begging to particular aldermen of London, for five or six thousand pounds to send to Dunkirk, and I fear we shall be delayed. . . . We spend as little of the State's money upon any but public occasions as ever any did; but the truth is, our expenses and occasions are extraordinary, and we cannot with safety retrench them. . . . How our needs are to be supplied, I confess

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 151, 158, 192; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 286; Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, vol. ii. pp. 391—393; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 546—550; Larrey's Histoire de France sous Louis XIV., vol. iii. pp. 36—41.

I know not, without the help of a Parliament!" Thus wrote Fleetwood and Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, whom they carefully kept acquainted with the state of affairs in London. On the other hand, the Protector was assured that the feelings of the remonstrant officers had undergone a change; that he would no longer meet with the same opposition from the army, and that he might boldly accept the crown which the Parliament would not fail to offer him. His friends even went so far as to assert, that some of the most illustrious and unyielding of the republican leaders, Rich, Ludlow, and Vane himself, were now disposed to prove more compliant. Cromwell listened to all these statements, but came to no decision. "If you ask," wrote Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, on the 27th of April, 1658, "what are the difficulties of coming to those resolutions, I answer, I know none but the fears in some honest men that they will settle us upon some foundations; and the doubts of some others that, if those fears still prevail and disappoint us of a settlement, a Parliament will then ruin us." Cromwell resolved to sound the intentions of some of the most important men; and he appointed a committee of nine members to report upon what was to be done, in the next Parliament, to defend the Government against the attacks of the Cavaliers and old republicans. Fiennes, Fleetwood, Pickering, Desborough, Whalley, Goffe, Philip Jones, Cooper, and Thurloe, five officers and four civilians, constituted this committee. After spending more than a month in deliberation, the majority voted, "that it was indifferent

whether succession in the government were by election or hereditary;" but, out of complaisance to the dissidents, they added, "that it was desirable to have it continued elective, that is, that the chief magistrate should always name his successor." When this childishly futile resolution was submitted to him, "his Highness," says Thurloe, "finding he can have no advice from those he most expected it from, saith he will take his own resolutions, and that he cannot any longer satisfy himself to sit still, and make himself guilty of the loss of all the honest party, and of the nation itself. And truly," adds Thurloe, "I have long wished that his Highness would proceed according to his own satisfaction, and not so much consider others, who truly are to be indulged in everything but where the being of the nation is concerned. His Highness is now at Hampton Court, and will continue there for some time, as well for his own health as to be near my Lady Elizabeth, who hath been of late very dangerously ill, but now is somewhat better."[1]

It was, in fact, the case that, for some months, Cromwell had devoted neither all his time nor all his energy to the duties of his government and the designs of his ambition. Throughout his career, the interests and destiny of his family and children had been a source of deep anxiety to him. Feeling no ambitious ardour or paternal illusion with regard to

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 71, 84, 99, 100, 144, 269, 295; Burnet's History of His Own Time, vol. i. p. 129; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 552—563.

them, he did not allow himself to overrate their talents or merits, and treated their affairs as an affectionate and prudent father, rather than as a powerful sovereign desirous to shed the lustre of his high position over all his relatives. Aware of the natural indolence and political indifference of his eldest son Richard, he allowed him to live with his father-in-law, Mr. Major, at Hursley Manor, like a quiet country gentleman; and he did not intrust the government of Ireland to his second son Henry, until he had made trial of his capabilities; and then he promoted him by slow degrees, and under modest titles. When he became Protector, he resolved to have a court; but the austerity of his party, the military character of his government, and the manners, tastes, and jealousies of most of his adherents, confined it within very narrow limits. Cromwell's own family was the centre and chief element of his court. His wife, Elizabeth Bourchier, was but little calculated to shine in it; she was a simple and timid person, less ambitious than interested, anxious about her future fate, careful to secure resources for every contingency, and jealous of her husband, who, though he lived on good terms with her, furnished her more than once with just cause for complaint. Lady Dysart, who afterwards became Duchess of Lauderdale, Lady Lambert, and perhaps others, whose names are not so certainly known, had been, or still were, on terms of intimacy with Cromwell, which, though carefully kept secret, had not completely escaped detection: he is said to have had several natural children; and the conjugal suspicions

of Lady Elizabeth were so active, that she is even said to have fixed them on Queen Christina of Sweden, who, after her abdication, announced her intention to visit England. It was more on his children, than on his wife, that the Protector relied for the direction of his court. He summoned his son Richard to London, and obtained his election as a member of Parliament, a Privy Councillor, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. His son-in-law, John Claypole, was a man of elegant tastes, and, like Richard Cromwell, was on friendly terms with a great many Cavaliers. After the marriage of his two younger daughters with Lord Faulconbridge and Mr. Rich, Cromwell had about him four young and wealthy families, desirous to enjoy life, and to share their enjoyments with all who came near them in rank and fortune. The Protector himself was fond of social amusements and brilliant assemblies; he was also passionately fond of music, and took delight in surrounding himself with musicians, and in listening to their performances. His court became, under the direction of his daughters, numerous and gay. One alone of them, the widow of Ireton and wife of Fleetwood, was a zealous and austere republican, who took but little part in their festivities, and deplored the monarchical and worldly tendencies which prevailed in the household as well as in the policy of the Protector.[1]

In the midst of his public labours, Cromwell

[1] Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, vol. i. pp. 124—128, 135, 159—162, vol. ii. pp. 376—378; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. i. pp. 64, 92, vol. iii. pp. 260, 295, 388.

exulted in the enjoyment of this domestic prosperity. Family afflictions had not, however, been altogether spared him: in July, 1648, during the course of the civil war, he had lost his eldest son, a young captain, of nineteen years of age, who bore the name of Oliver, and who was killed in a skirmish with the Scots. Until ten years after his death, we find no allusion to the fate of this young man; but in 1658, the fidelity of paternal love in Cromwell's heart found audible expression; hearing some one read a passage from Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, "This Scripture," he said, "did once save my life, when my eldest son, poor Oliver, died, which went dagger to my heart, indeed it did." In 1654, Cromwell lost his mother, Elizabeth Stuart, a woman of much sense and virtue, for whom he never ceased to entertain and manifest the utmost respect. She regarded her son's good fortune with distrust, and could not be induced to share it without feelings of modesty and regret. He found it very difficult to persuade her to take up her abode in Whitehall; and she lived in a state of constant disquietude, always expecting some sudden catastrophe, and exclaiming, whenever she heard the sound of a musket, that her son was shot. At her death she expressed her wish to be buried without pomp in a small country church; but Cromwell ordered that she should be interred, with great magnificence, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey. For four years, from 1654 to 1658, his family was visited by no misfortune; it continued to enjoy unmixed

happiness and prosperity. But during the winter of 1658, death entered it with unusual severity; three months after her marriage, his daughter Frances lost her husband, Robert Rich, at the early age of twenty-three; and three months later, Mr. Rich's grandfather, the Earl of Warwick, the most intimate of Cromwell's friends among the nobility, and a man who had never failed to serve him with useful advice and true devotion, followed his grandson to the tomb. Cromwell felt these losses keenly; the one was premature, the other warned him of the approach of old age, and the irreparable voids which it creates. But ere many weeks had passed, he had to endure a still heavier blow. His beloved daughter, Lady Claypole, had long been weak and invalid; and he had sent her to reside at Hampton Court Palace, that she might have the benefit of country air and complete tranquillity. Finding that her illness increased, he went to reside there himself, that he might watch over her with tender and constant care. She possessed, in his mind, great and peculiar attractions; she was a person of noble and delicate sentiments, of an elegant and cultivated mind, faithful to her friends, generous to her enemies, and tenderly attached to her father, of whom she felt at once proud and anxious, and who rejoiced greatly in her affection. When fatigued, as he often was, not only by the men who surrounded him, but by his own agitated thoughts, Cromwell took pleasure in seeking repose in the society of a person so entirely a stranger to the brutal conflicts and violent actions which had occupied, and still continued to occupy, his

life. But this pleasure was now changed into bitter sorrow; the complicated internal disease of Lady Claypole grew rapidly worse; she became subject to convulsion-fits, during which she gave utterance, in her father's presence, sometimes to her own cruel sufferings, and sometimes to the grief and pious anxiety which she felt regarding himself. Sitting constantly by his daughter's bedside, Cromwell had need of all his self-control to endure these painful impressions. On the 6th of August, 1658, Lady Claypole died. The Protector took a melancholy pleasure in surrounding his daughter's coffin with all the pomp which he could command; her body was conveyed to the Painted Chamber at Westminster, where it lay in state for twenty-four hours; after which it was taken to Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and solemnly interred in a special vault, among the tombs of the kings.[1]

When Lady Claypole fell ill, Cromwell himself was not in good health. Although he had successfully resisted the attacks of fever, which he had suffered during his campaigns in Scotland and Ireland, his strong constitution had been shaken by them: he was subject to many painful maladies, which might at any time prove exceedingly dangerous; gout, gravel, affections of the liver and loins, and want of sleep, were his habitual enemies. When he had any attack which

[1] Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 448—452; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 320; Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, vol. i. pp. 84—90, 132, 134, 137—142, vol. ii. pp. 399—402; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iv. pp. 527—530.

prevented his attending to business, he grew impatient, and ordered his physicians to set him right again at any cost. At the time when Lady Claypole's illness assumed a dangerous character, he was suffering from an attack of gout; while giving audience to the Dutch ambassador, Nieuport, on the 30th of July, he felt so unwell, that he broke off the interview, and adjourned the business to the following week. Three days before, on the 27th of July, Thurloe wrote to Henry Cromwell: "His Highness's constant residence at Hampton Court, and the sickness of my Lady Elizabeth, which is a great affliction to him, hath hindered the consideration of public matters, so that very little or nothing hath been done therein for these fourteen days." After the death of Lady Claypole, the Protector made an effort to resume his labours: he held his council; he reviewed some troops; he terminated a commercial negotiation with Sweden; he grew alarmed at the sudden arrival of Ludlow in London, and ordered Fleetwood to make sure that he entertained no evil designs. But an intermittent fever broke out with great violence; he was obliged to remain in bed; and his physicians believed him to be in great danger. About the 20th of August, however, the fever ceased; he left his bed, and resumed his former occupations. George Fox, the Quaker, who was always sure to meet with a friendly reception from him, went to Hampton Court, and requested to speak with him "about the sufferings of Friends." "I met him riding into Hampton Court Park," says Fox; "and before I came to him, as he rode at the head of his life-guards,

I saw and felt a waft of death go forth against him; and when I came to him, he looked like a dead man. After I had laid the sufferings of Friends before him, and had warned him according as I was moved to speak to him, he bade me come to his house; and, the next day, I went up to Hampton Court to speak farther with him. But when I came, Harvey, who was one that waited on him, told me the doctors were not willing that I should speak with him. So I passed away, and never saw him more."[1]

The fever had greatly increased; his physicians prescribed change of air, and recommended him to leave Hampton Court for London. He returned to Whitehall on the 24th of August, 1658, and from that moment, notwithstanding some few intervals of respite, the disease and danger became more and more urgent. Cromwell ceased to attend to public business, and seemed not even to think of it. In his own soul, however, he had not yet given up all hope of life, and future worldly achievements. Having heard his physicians whisper that his pulse was intermittent, the words filled him with alarm: he turned pale, a cold perspiration covered his face, and, requesting to be placed in bed, he sent for a secretary, and executed his private will. On the following morning, one of his physicians entered his room. "Why do you look so sad?" said Cromwell to him. "How can I look otherwise," replied the physician, "when I have the

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 294, 299, 301, 320, 365; Fox's Journal, vol. i. pp. 485—486; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 452, 453; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 292.

responsibility of your life upon me." "You doctors think I shall die," returned Cromwell; and he took the hand of his wife, who was sitting by his bedside, and said to her, "I tell thee I shall not die of this bout; I am sure I shall not." Observing the surprise of his physician at these words, he added: "Do not think that I am mad; I tell you the truth; I know it from better authority than any which you can have from Galen or Hippocrates. It is the answer of God himself to our prayers; not to mine alone, but those of others, who have a more intimate interest in Him than I have. Therefore, take courage; banish sorrow from your eyes, and treat me as you would treat a mere servant. You can do much by your science; but nature can do more than all the doctors in the world, and God is infinitely more powerful than nature." Finding him so strangely excited after an almost sleepless night, the physician ordered that he should be kept perfectly quiet, and left the room. As he was going away, he met one of his colleagues, and said to him, "I fear our patient is well nigh deranged," and he repeated what he had heard. "Are you so far a stranger here," replied the other, "that you do not know what took place last night? The Protector's chaplains, and all their friends the saints, engaged in prayers for his safety, in different parts of the palace, and they all heard the voice of God, saying, 'He will recover!' so they are all certain of it."[1]

Not in Whitehall only, but in a multitude of

[1] Bates' Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum, part ii. pp. 413 — 415; Heath's Chronicle, pp. 736, 737.

churches and houses in London, fervent prayers were offered for the Protector's recovery; prayers at once sincere and interested,—dictated alike by sympathy and fear. Independently of the men who were attached to his person and government, and whose fortune was dependent on his own, Cromwell was, to all those revolutionists and sectaries, whom republican fanaticism had not rendered his enemies, the representative of their cause, and the defender of their civil and religious liberties. What would be their fate if he should die? Under what yoke would they next fall? And their prayers were not, to them, cold and empty forms;—they had firm faith in their access to God, and they presumptuously believed that he revealed to them His designs. "O Lord," exclaimed Goodwin, one of the Protector's chaplains, "we pray not for his recovery,—that thou hast granted already; what we now beg is his speedy recovery." The politicians were not so sanguine,—and yet they too had great hopes. "Never," wrote Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, on the 30th of August, 1658, "was there a greater stock of prayers going for any man than for him; and truly, there is a general consternation upon the spirits of all men, good and bad, fearing what may be the event of it, should it please God to take his Highness at this time; and God, having prepared the heart to pray, I trust He will incline His ear to hear."[1]

Cromwell was far from getting better;—his fits

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 364, 366, 367, 369; Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 180; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 259.

became far more violent and frequent; and when they were over, he was left in a state of profound despondency. His family and his confidants were agitated by the utmost anxiety regarding the future. Who was to be his successor? By the terms of the Instrument of Government, he was himself to appoint him. After he fell ill, and before he left Hampton Court to return to London, Cromwell had given some thought to the matter, and had directed John Barrington, one of his secretaries, to fetch from his study-table at Whitehall, a sealed paper, in the form of a letter directed to Thurloe, in which, immediately after the second constitution of the Protectorate, he had nominated his successor, without communicating the secret to any other person. This paper could not be found, and Cromwell said no more about it. When his death seemed to be imminent, his children and sons-in-law, Lord Faulconbridge among others, urged Thurloe, the Protector's only real confidant, to put some question to him on this subject. Thurloe promised to do so, but delayed performing his promise. He had no certain knowledge of his master's intentions;—Cromwell had kept them perfectly secret, as he was unwilling to deprive any of those who aspired to succeed him, of the hope of doing so. Some persons affirmed that his choice would not rest on either of his sons, but on his son-in-law, Fleetwood, who was more popular with the army and with the republicans. Under these doubtful circumstances, Thurloe hesitated to undertake to demand a positive answer from the

Protector, as he was unwilling to incur the enmity of any of the aspirants.[1]

In these perplexities of those who surrounded him, Cromwell took no part; worldly affairs, political questions, even the interests of those persons who were dearest to him, retreated and disappeared in proportion as he drew nearer to the grave: his soul fell back upon itself, and, as it advanced towards the mysteries of the eternal future, it came in contact with other thoughts and other perplexities than those which agitated the mourners around his bed. Cromwell's religious faith had exercised but little influence over his conduct; the necessities, combinations, and passions of this world had more generally swayed him, and he had yielded to their mastery with cynical recklessness,—as he was determined to succeed, to become great, and to rule at any cost. The Christian had disappeared beneath the revolutionary politician and despot; but though it had disappeared, it had not altogether perished: Christian faith had survived in his soul, though overladen by so many falsehoods and crimes; and when the final trial arrived, it re-asserted its power; and, to use the fine expression of Archbishop Tillotson, "Cromwell's religious enthusiasm gained the victory over his hypocrisy." On the 2nd of September, Cromwell, who had been delirious, had a lucid interval of some duration. His chaplains were standing around his bed. "Tell me," he said to one of them,[2] "is it possible to fall from

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 363, 366.

[2] To Dr. Goodwin, according to some authorities; or Dr. Sterry, according to others.

grace?" "It is not possible," replied the minister. "Then," exclaimed the dying man, "I am safe; for I know that I was once in grace." He then turned round, and prayed aloud. "Lord," he said, "though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with Thee through grace; and I may, I will, come to Thee, for thy people! Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and Thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish, and would be glad of my death; but, Lord, however Thou do dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation; and make the name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much on Thy instruments to depend more upon Thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too; and pardon the folly of this short prayer, even for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen."[1]

This pious exercise was followed by a kind of stupor, which continued until evening. As the night

[1] Baxter's Life, part i. p. 98; Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 181; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 453—457. Most of these details are derived from a pamphlet entitled, "A Collection of several passages concerning his late Highness Oliver Cromwell in the time of his Sickness; written by one that was then groom of his bedchamber." This pamphlet is attributed by some to Maidstone, who was at that time Steward of Cromwell's household; and by others (as I think, with greater probability) to Underwood, one of the grooms of his bedchamber, who was sent to Henry Cromwell in Ireland with the sad intelligence. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 374, 375; Harris's Life of Cromwell, pp. 484—486; Biographia Britannica, vol. iii. p. 1572.

closed in, Cromwell became greatly agitated; he spoke in low and broken tones, terminating neither his ideas nor his words. "Truly God is good," he said, "indeed he is . . . he will not . . . he will not leave me . . . I would be willing to live to be farther serviceable to God and His people . . . but my work is done . . . yet God will be with His people." One of his attendants offered him something to drink, and besought him to endeavour to sleep. "It is not my design," he answered, "to drink or sleep, but my design is to make what haste I can to be gone." Day dawned at length; it was the third of September, his FORTUNATE DAY, as he had often called it—the anniversary of his victories at Dunbar and Worcester. By a singular coincidence, the night which had just ended had been very stormy—a violent tempest had caused many disasters both on land and sea; Cromwell had relapsed into a state of utter insensibility, from which he did not again recover. Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, as he lay still unconscious, he heaved a deep sigh; the attendants drew near his bed; he had just expired.[1]

At the news of his death, a general shudder, arising from very different feelings, ran through all England. Cavaliers and Republicans, Episcopalians and Presbyterians, Levellers and Anabaptists—all Cromwell's enemies breathed freely, like ransomed prisoners;

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 372; Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth, vol. v. pp. 389—392; Heath's Chronicle, pp. 736, 737; Cromwelliana, p. 177.

but they did not stir. More than this; they repressed their joy, in presence of the imposing grief of the army, and the restless disquietude of the people. Both officers and soldiers proved themselves devoted to their dead general; and the public at large, having lost their master, inquired with anxiety how they were to obtain a new government. Demonstrations of family grief and official sorrow alone appeared. The first were sincere, and the second, from a regard to propriety no less than from policy, were manifested with great splendour, as though they would secure the future by the magnificence of their homage to the past. "The bearer of this letter," wrote Lord Faulconbridge to Henry Cromwell, on the 7th of September, "brings your lordship the sad news of our general loss, in your incomparable father's death, by which these poor nations are deprived of the greatest personage and instrument of happiness, not only our own, but indeed any other age ever produced. The preceding night, and not before, in presence of four or five of the council, he declared my Lord Richard his successor; . . . and some three hours after his decease, (a time spent only in framing the draft—not in any doubtful dispute), was your Lordship's brother, his now Highness, declared Protector of these nations, with full consent of council, soldiers, and city. . . . All the time his late Highness was drawing on to his end, the consternation and astonishment of people was inexpressible; their hearts seemed sunk within them. And if this abroad of the family, your Lordship may imagine what it was in her Highness, and

other near relations. My poor wife, I know not what in the earth to do with her; when seemingly quieted, she bursts out again into passion, that tears her very heart in pieces; nor can I blame her, considering what she has lost." The same messenger also conveyed to Henry Cromwell a letter from Thurloe, in which he states: "It hath pleased God hitherto to give his Highness, your brother, a very easy and peaceable entrance upon his government. There is not a dog that wags his tongue, so great a calm are we in." In the midst of this calm, the pious enthusiasts who had surrounded Cromwell's death-bed, alone raised their voices, saying to his weeping friends and servants: "Cease to weep; you have more reason to rejoice. He was your protector here; he will prove a still more powerful protector now that he is with Christ, at the right hand of the Father."[1]

More than two months after these exhibitions of domestic grief and enthusiasm, on the 23rd of November, 1658, the obsequies of the Protector were celebrated in Westminster Abbey, with a pomp which far exceeded all that had ever yet been displayed in England at the funerals of kings. Although the body had been embalmed, its rapid decomposition had rendered it necessary to bury it without ceremony a few days after his death. On the 26th of September, a magnificent catafalque was erected at Somerset House, in the fourth of a suite of rooms hung with black velvet; and the effigy of the Protector lay

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 374, 375; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 259; Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 690.

there for more than six weeks, exposed to the gaze of an immense crowd of people, who daily thronged to behold it. In regulating the order of these ceremonies, not only had national recollections been consulted, but the learning of men versed in the study of royal pageants, as illustrated by the practice of the great continental monarchies. One of these, Mr. Kinnersley, suggested the obsequies of the most Catholic of kings, Philip II. of Spain, as most worthy to be imitated in the interment of the Protector of European Protestantism. His suggestion was adopted; and at an interval of sixty years,[1] Philip II. and Cromwell, at the solemn moment of their appearance before God, received, amidst the same funereal splendour, the same testimonies of the pious respect of the nations they had governed.[2]

Cromwell died in the plenitude of his power and greatness. He had succeeded beyond all expectation, far more than any other of those men has succeeded, who, by their genius, have raised themselves, as he had done, to supreme authority; for he had attempted and accomplished, with equal success, the most opposite designs. During eighteen years that he had been an ever-victorious actor on the world's stage, he had alternately sown disorder and established order, effected and punished revolution, overthrown and restored government, in his country. At every moment, under all circumstances, he had distinguished

[1] Philip II. died just sixty years, day for day, before Cromwell, on the $\frac{13}{3}$ of September, 1598.

[2] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxi. pp. 238–245; Cromwelliana, pp. 178—181; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 260.

with admirable sagacity the dominant interests and passions of the time, so as to make them the instruments of his own rule,—careless whether he belied his antecedent conduct, so long as he triumphed in concert with the popular instinct, and explaining the inconsistencies of his conduct by the ascendant unity of his power. He is, perhaps, the only example which history affords of one man having governed the most opposite events, and proved sufficient for the most various destinies. And in the course of his violent and changeful career, incessantly exposed to all kinds of enemies and conspiracies, Cromwell experienced this crowning favour of fortune, that his life was never actually attacked; the sovereign against whom Killing had been declared to be No Murder, never found himself face to face with an assassin. The world has never known another example of success at once so constant and so various, or of fortune so invariably favourable, in the midst of such manifold conflicts and perils.

Yet Cromwell's death-bed was clouded with gloom. He was unwilling not only to die, but also, and most of all, to die without having attained his real and final object. However great his egotism may have been, his soul was too great to rest satisfied with the highest fortune, if it were merely personal, and, like himself, of ephemeral earthly duration. Weary of the ruin he had caused, it was his cherished wish to restore to his country a regular and stable government—the only government which was suited to its wants, a monarchy under the control of Parliament. And at the same

time, with an ambition which extended beyond the grave, under the influence of that thirst for permanence which is the stamp of true greatness, he aspired to leave his name and race in possession of the throne. He failed in both designs: his crimes had raised up obstacles against him, which neither his prudent genius nor his persevering will could surmount; and though covered, as far as he was himself concerned, with power and glory, he died with his dearest hopes frustrated, and leaving behind him, as his successors, the two enemies whom he had so ardently combated —anarchy and the Stuarts.

God does not grant to those great men, who have laid the foundations of their greatness amidst disorder and revolution, the power of regulating at their pleasure, and for succeeding ages, the government of nations.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

(Page 37.)

M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 29 Décembre, 1653.

MONSIEUR,

VOUS aurez pu reconnaître dans mes dernières lettres une grande disposition à l'établissement d'un nouveau régime dans l'Angleterre. La résolution en étant prise par les officiers de l'armée ; ils s'assemblèrent Vendredi au matin dans le logis ordinaire du Roi où se tient le Conseil d'Etat, en y mandèrent le maire de Londres, les conseillers de la ville, les juges et les chanceliers, si peu informés qu'ils rendaient chacun la justice dans leurs tribunaux. Après que la lecture leur eut été faite de la résolution de l'armée, qu'ils se levèrent sans résistance et qu'ils eurent pris leur robe de cérémonie, toute la compagnie monta en carosse et en forme de cortège marchant devant celui de M. le général, l'infanterie en haie dans les rues et même les colonels à pied à la tête de son carosse, se rendit au palais où siège le Parlement ; et dans une tribune élevée, lecture fut faite de la déclaration de l'armée. Elle expose dès le commencement la nécessité qu'il y a d'établir un protecteur pour conserver la république, nomme M. le général à cette charge, lui ordonne un conseil de vingt-quatre personnes par l'avis desquelles il gouvernera, lui donne pouvoir de faire la paix et la guerre ; et dans la nécessité pressante de lever jusqu'à deux millions si le Parlement n'en point établi, l'oblige de maintenir la religion réformée et de réformer les abus qui se commettent par les hérétiques ; lui permet d'avoir des officiers pour la conservation de son bien, et lui assigne pour son entretien les domaines du Roi non aliénés, ordonne en

outre qu'il y aura toujours 20,000 hommes sur pied et 10,000 chevaux, et qu'un Parlement libre sera convoqué pour le 3 de Septembre prochain, et qu'advenant la mort du Protecteur il en sera choisi un autre par le Conseil, donnant l'exclusion aux enfants du défunt et à ceux qui seront du sang royal. La lecture faite et le serment prêté entre les mains du chancelier, le sieur Protecteur s'assit dans une chaire préparée, se couvrit, et les autres demeurant debout et tête nue, les chanceliers lui présentèrent *insignia Majestatis*, et le maire l'épée. Il les prit et les leur rendit et s'en retourna dans le même ordre, sinon que le dit maire portait devant lui l'épée comme autrefois devant le roi et même dans son carosse, où tout le monde jusques à ses gardes étaient tête nue. La cérémonie s'acheva dans le palais royal d'où il était parti, par un sermon sur le sujet.

APPENDIX II.

(Page 52.)

I.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 25 Juin, 1654.

MONSIEUR,

J'AI laissé passer deux ordinaires sans me donner l'honneur de vous écrire, le premier pour n'avoir rien eu à mander que des remises, et le second pour avoir voulu attendre le retour de M. de Baas de chez Monsieur le Protecteur, qui l'avait envoyé chercher, prévoyant que c'était pour quelque chose d'extraordinaire. Il ne m'eut pas sitôt fait le rapport de sa conference que trois ministres du Conseil me vinrent trouver, et me tinrent jusques après l'heure du départ de la poste. J'ai depuis vu M. le Protecteur, et quoique je pusse remettre au sieur de Baas la relation de tout ce qui s'est passé, néanmoins crainte qu'il n'arrive pas assez tôt à la cour, je tâcherai de satisfaire l'impatience que sa Majesté pourrait avoir d'être informée des sujets de sa retraite. Il sera sans doute, Monsieur, venu à votre connaissance que depuis deux mois un nommé Naudin, médecin Français, avait été trouver M. de Baas et s'était offert de gagner quelques officiers de l'armée, même quelque place, et fomenter une division dans cet Etat,

si la France voulait appuyer ce dessein, présupposant que nous ne devions pas rejeter des propositions si avantageuses, puisque ce régime était entièrement porté à preférer l'amitié de l'Espagne à celle de France. Quoique cette ouverture dans un temps auquel toutes nos instances pour l'accommodement ne produisaient aucun effet, néanmoins le dit sieur de Baas ne se voulut point engager, sur ce qu'il ne croyait pas, que la cour eût intention d'entrer dans de semblables entreprises, tant qu'elle verrait jour à l'accommodement. Le dit Naudin ne laissa pas de temps en temps de le revenir voir, croyant sans doute que Sa Majesté lui enverrait de nouveaux ordres. Ce commerce a continué, sans ma participation, jusqu'au jour que le dit Naudin a été fait prisonnier. Il ne fut pas sitôt interrogé, que de plusieurs endroits l'on m'averti que nous étions soupçonnés d'avoir part à la conjuration. Même un de nos commissaires me le fit savoir, et désigna le dit sieur Baas, en me déchargeant de ce soupçon, que je considérai comme un prétexte dont l'on se voulait servir pour retarder notre négociation. Je ne laissai pas néanmoins de faire toutes diligences pour effacer cette défiance, principalement après avoir appris dudit sieur de Baas tout ce qui s'était passé, et le peu de fondement qu'elle avait. Elles n'empêchèrent pas que M. le Protecteur ne le mandât, il y a quinze jours, pour l'interroger, dont quelques uns de son Conseil le détournèrent, et quoique depuis ce soupçon parut être dissipé, néanmoins, soit que, comme l'on m'assure, il ait été renouvelé par des lettres de France, ou que l'on fasse présentement moins de difficulté d'éclater, mon dit sieur le Protecteur le renvoya chercher lundi après diner, et en présence de sept de son Conseil, lui fit des reproches de ce qu'il avait trempé dans une conjuration contre sa personne et cet Etat, lui lut la déposition de Naudin, et le pressa d'y répondre. Ce coup n'ayant point été imprévu, nous avions jugé à propos de ne lui point refuser en particulier quelqu' éclaircissement ; mais qu'il ne fallait se laisser traiter en criminel ou témoin, le dit sieur de Baas, ne croyant pas de pouvoir répondre sans jouer l'un ou l'autre personnage, se défendit sur ce qu'il ne devait rendre compte de ses actions qu'au roi, et néanmoins lui offrit pour sa satisfaction tout l'éclaircissement que la bienséance pouvait permettre. M. le

Protecteur ne laissa pas de le presser, et le trouvant ferme dans la négative, se retira pour délibérer avec son Conseil, et aussitôt lui vint déclarer que, puisqu'il ne voulait point répondre, qu'il eut à se retirer aujourd'hui. Le dit sieur de Baas sortait de me rapporter ce procédé, lorsque deux de nos commissaires et le sieur Pickering, à dix heures du soir, me vinrent trouver de la part de son Altesse ; ils me dirent qu'elle les avait envoyés de vers moi, et que, crainte de ne se pas bien expliquer, ils avaient mis par écrit leur ordre dont la substance était, qu'il y a six semaines qu'un gentilhomme d'honneur fut recherché d'entrer dans une entreprise contre la vie de son Altesse et la paix de cette République par un nommé Naudin, Français, qui promettait que le sieur de Baas, fort accrédité auprès de son Eminence, fournirait argent et toutes choses nécessaires pour l'execution de ce dessein ; que depuis il lui avait souvent renouvelé les mêmes assurances, dont étant demeuré d'accord dans son audition et le dit sieur de Baas n'ayant voulu donner aucune satisfaction sur ce sujet à son Altesse, elle ne le croyait plus capable de traiter ; et qu'afin, de me faire connaître que sa retraite ne porterait point de préjudice aux affaires, elle avait ordonné à mes commissaires de s'assembler et de dresser un traité à des conditions raisonnables et égales. Ils m'ajouterent ensuite qu'elle ne croyait point que le Roi ni son Eminence eussent aucune part à cette entreprise, et qu'elle écrirait à l'un et à l'autre. Je n'oubliai rien de ce qui la pouvait désabuser que le dit sieur de Baas eût rien fait contre leurs intentions et pour l'obliger à ne pas faire injure sur un soupçon si léger à une personne qui avait l'honneur d'être ministre de Sa Majesté, et les pressai de me faire savoir quelle satisfaction son Altesse desirerait, afin que je lui donnasse. Mais je ne pus tirer d'eux aucune réponse, sinon que M. le Protecteur ne pouvait témoigner son ressentiment avec plus de douceur, qu'il était persuadé de la volonté du dit sieur de Baas et ne demandait point de satisfaction, que, sans cette conjoncture, le traité aurait été conclu, qu'ils avaient charge d'en examiner les conditions et feraient leur rapport de ce que je venais de leur dire. Je ne laissai pas de demander audience dès le lendemain, dans laquelle je temoignai à M. le Protecteur que le

Roi ayant procédé en son endroit avec tant de sincérité, et les actions noires etant en si grande horreur à ceux auxquels il confie le soin de ses affaires, il y avait de quoi s'étonner que ses ministres pussent être soupçonnés d'avoir eu part dans une telle enterprise, et que si le dit sieur de Baas se trouvait avoir passé pardessus ses ordres, sa conduite serait désapprouvée, et son Altesse en recevrait la même justice que Sa Majesté pourrait desirer dans une semblable rencontre, mais qu'il ne fallait point si légèrement entrer en défiance d'une personne dont les intérêts n'étaient point séparés de ceux de son maître ; que, quand le dit Naudin aurait employé son nom, ou même avouerait avoir reçu quelques propositions, ce n'était pas une preuve suffisante, étant assez ordinaire à ceux qui veulent engager quelqu'un dans leurs desseins de se faire forts de personnes puissantes et aux accusés de rejeter leur crime sur autrui ; outre que, ne paraissant par sa déposition, si ce n'est que le dit sieur de Baas lui à fait forte questions sur l'état des affaires de ce pays et la disposition des esprits, il ne s'en peut pas inférer que ç'ait été avec dessein de brouiller, ce gouvernement, et que si son Altesse voulait suspendre son jugement, jusques à ce qu'elle fût plus éclaircie, je m'assurais qu'il ne lui resterait aucun scrupule, que, quand même sa défiance aurait plus de fondement, elle devait au moins en user avec cette déférence devant que de chasser le dit sieur de Baas, d'en faire ses plaintes au roi et demander sa révocation qui ne serait pas refusée. Je lui représentai aussi que le retour du dit sieur de Baas sur le point de la conclusion d'un traité, après tant de remises, pouvant être imputé à d'autres causes qu'au défaut de sa conduite et confirmer les avis qui nous venaient de tous côtés que Sa Majesté ne devait s'attendre à aucun accommodement avec l'Angleterre nonobstant toutes les paroles qui nous avaient été données. Il était nécessaire, pour prévenir les mauvais effets qu'elle pourrait produire, de me mettre en état que les mêmes dépêches qui porteraient les nouvelles de cette retraite, portassent aussi celles de la conclusion du traité, qui se pouvait achever en peu d'heures, puisque déjà les propositions générales étaient réglées ; et que, touchant le commerce, nous étions convenus de le régler suivant les anciens traités et à

des conditions égales. La réponse de M. le Protecteur fut qu'il n'avait jamais entré en soupçon que Sa Majesté eût part à la conjuration qui avait été découverte, mais que le dit sieur de Baas lui paraissant plus coupable que je ne présupposais, il ne le pouvait souffrir plus longtems en Angleterre ; qu'il ne doutait point que Sa Majesté auquel il en écrirait ne lui fit justice, et qu'il était bien aise de voir que je correspondais au dessein qu'il avait de continuer incessamment le traité ; que Jeudi dernier les commissaires me fussent venus trouver sans cette rencontre, et que, dans deux jours, ils m'apporteraient la réponse à mes articles et ses propositions. Ce fut le résultat d'une audience de deux heures, dans laquelle je n'oubliai pas de témoigner que Sa Majesté aurait sujet de se plaindre du traitement que recevait son ministre, les défiances que lui donnaient tant de remises et la liaison avec cet Etat dont nos ennemis se vantaient, ni aussi de lui toucher les considérations qui le devaient obliger à changer de procédé, s'il souhaitait l'amitié de la France, sans en retirer aucune autre satisfaction pour ce qui était du sieur de Baas ; et à l'égard de l'accommodement qu'il ne doutait pas que nous ne reçussions aussi bien que lui beaucoup d'avis qui nous donnaient de la jalousie, mais que nous reconnaitrions que les Anglais sont francs et sincères, et me confirma que, dans cette semaine, j'aurais un entier éclaircissement de ses prétentions. Encore que j'eusse été averti dès la veille que la résolution avait été prise de ne pas révoquer l'ordre donné au dit sieur de Baas, je crus néanmoins qu'il était à propos d'en témoigner du ressentiment, mais non pas, suivant son opinion, de me retirer d'Angleterre ou de Londres devant que d'en avoir reçu un commandement exprès, pour ne pas engager le roi dans une rupture, encore qu'il paraisse ici beaucoup de mauvaise volonté, et quand même, devant que d'aller à l'audience, j'aurais été d'un autre sentiment, la parole précise que me donna M. le Protecteur de se déclarer dans trois jours me l'aurait fait changer. Que si cette retraite est jugée si injurieuse que je ne puisse plus demeurer avec honneur en Angleterre, Sa Majesté sera en état de me retirer sans scrupule, que ma révocation ait empêché l'accommodement si par le prochain

ordinaire elle n'en apprend la conclusion. Je n'ai pas, Monsieur, sujet de m'attendre à cet ordre après avoir vu les lettres que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire. La dernière du 18, suivant laquelle je réglerai ma conduite à l'avenir, semble approuver celle que j'ai tenue dans cette rencontre, et mes discours se sont trouvés entièrement conformes à la manière de parler au Protecteur qui m'est prescrite, m'étant tenu dans des termes généraux. Aussi n'avais je pas encore reçu les dites lettres dont les avis se rapportent au procédé de ce gouvernement et aux bruits qui courent aujourd'hui. Beaucoup de petites circonstances me les persuadent être véritables. L'ambassadeur d'Espagne a encore vu ce matin le Protecteur. Barrière assurait, il n'y a pas longtems, à un marchand de Bordeaux qui est en cette ville, qu'il serait bientôt en état de le servir dans son pays. Mazerolles et lui ont en tous ces jours de grandes conférences avec le dit ambassadeur qui affecte publiquement d'appréhender que les vaisseaux que l'on double ne soient pour les Indes ; et néanmoins il ne laisse pas de lui échapper que je ne demeurerai pas encore longtemps en ce pays. Je vois aussi une opinion générale que cet Etat ne se peut assurer que, si la France a jamais le pouvoir, elle fera éclater sa mauvaise volonté. La conjuration nouvellement découverte ne guérit pas cette défiance. Il se trouve que les principaux accusés étaient venus de France ; il a été pris encore un gentilhomme de la chambre du Roi d'Angleterre, il y a deux jours, que l'on disait être arrivé depuis peu, et même les avis que l'on en écrit ne nous sont pas favorables. Cette déposition de Naudin leur donne créance, et je ne puis pas garantir que mes négatives en puissent empêcher les effets ; l on m'assure que le fils d'un nommé Scot, membre et secrétaire d'Etat du vieil Parlement, a été envoyé par le Protecteur en France pour apprendre les particularités de cette entreprise de quelqu'un qui n'a pas voulu les fier au papier. Je vois aussi que de différents endroits, depuis cinq jours, il est arrivé à Londres des Bordelais ; deux entr'autres, dont j'attends les noms, viennent de Bordeaux. Le député avec lequel j'avais quelque relation ne me visite plus quoique je l'eusse assuré que, continuant de servir, j'obtiendrais sa grâce. Et ils témoignent tous d'être dans l'espérance de leur

rétablissement. Néanmoins il me semble que l'on doit plus appréhender des religionnaires de France ; un nommé Zollis, grand Presbytérien, qui fut chassé du Parlement par l'armée et depuis a demeuré en France chez un gentilhomme de la religion, proche St. Lo, nommé Cambernon, a eu forces conférences particulières avec le Protecteur qui lui a donné la liberté de retourner ; et ceux qui m'en avertirent croient que, comme il est homme fort zèlé dans sa religion, remuant et habile, il pourrait bien avoir pris des mesures en France avec ceux de sa secte, devant son départ ; et l'un de mes commissaires dit, il n'y a que deux jours, à un de mes gens de cette même profession qu'il me serait fait quelque proposition en leur faveur, peutêtre pour avoir un prétexte de rompre, agréable à beaucoup de ce pays ; et il l'assura aussi qu'il n'y avait point encore de mesures prises avec l'Espagne, mais qu'elle faisait de grandes offres que quelques uns du Conseil écoutaient volontiers, et même qu'il me conseillait de presser la conclusion de mon traité. Présentement l'on m'a donné avis qu'il est arrivé des vaisseaux d'Espagne à l'île de Wight avec de l'argent, que trente cinq vaisseaux Anglais devaient faire voile au premier jour, se joindre avec eux, et qu'ils pourraient faire descente ou à Bayonne, ou devers le Hâvre. Quoique cette nouvelle ne me vienne pas d'une voie bien sûre, néanmoins l'audience de l'ambassadeur d'Espagne de ce matin et la grande satisfaction qu'il a temoignée à la sortie, distribuant de l'argent aux soldats du corps de garde, marque quelque chose d'extraordinaire. On me fera envoyer cette dépêche par un courrier exprès, si je puis avoir un passeport, ne doutant point que mes lettres ne fussent retenues, s'il y a quelque dessein prêt à exécuter. J'entre encore dans quelque défiance de ce que l'on n'a pas encore envoyé celui que j'avais demandé pour M. de Baas, ce retardement après avoir témoigné tant de chaleur pour son départ n'étant point sans cause ; je souhaite d'être trompé dans tous mes soupçons, et j'avoue que jusqu'à ce que le traité soit signé avec l'Espagne, je ne désespererai pas de notre accommodement, non que je doute des mauvaises intentions du Protecteur, mais parcequ'il ne lui peut rien arriver de plus désavantageux que de nous avoir pour ennemis déclarés. Je ne mets pas en compte l'intérêt du

peuple comme ne croyant pas qu'il lui soit de grande recommendation. Néanmoins je répandrai parmi les marchands, &c., les bruits qui sont nécessaires pour les exciter. . . . . .

II.—CROMWELL TO LOUIS XIV.

MOST SERENE KING,

WHEN your Majesty sent to us M. de Bordeaux as your ambassador, and M. de Baas as your commissioner, with powers to restore the ancient amity between England and France, and to conclude a strong and lasting peace, not only did we give them a friendly reception, and discharge towards them all the duties of politeness, but further, seeing that their proposals and our own wishes and efforts tended to a common object, we frequently and willingly granted personal audience to the said envoys; frequently also we conferred with them by intermediaries, on matters relating to their negotiation, with a view to bring it to a satisfactory termination; and after many mutual overtures, we had conceived strong hopes of seeing the whole affair ended agreeably to our wishes. However, while the negotiations were thus rapidly advancing, it came to our knowledge that one of the said envoys, M. de Baas, contrary to our expectation, and contrary to the duties of his office, had not only thrown himself zealously into the society of turbulent and perverse men, who are offended by the peaceful condition of this Commonwealth, but also that he was fomenting evil designs with them, and that he was mixed up in their criminal machinations to cause disturbance in this Commonwealth, in order to overthrow the present constitution, and to plunge us again in murder and bloodshed; an atrocious conspiracy, for which he volunteered to find a patron, and obtain succour, by making unauthorized use of the name of the man who occupies the first place at the court and in the councils of your Majesty; and promising to obtain from him supplies of money for the execution of their designs.

All these facts have been fully brought to light by various proofs, and by the confessions of those who were aware of, and engaged in, the plot. When, therefore, M. de Baas was accused of this crime in our presence, and was informed in

what way, and from what witnesses, and by what chain of circumstances, we had learned his secret, we judged that public safety required us not to allow further residence in England to a man of so turbulent a spirit, and so dangerous to the tranquillity of our nation. Accordingly, we have appointed him a day after which he must have gone out of this Commonwealth, and we have assigned him one of our ships of war, to convey him across; and we desired that this letter should closely follow him, to acquaint your Majesty with the truth concerning the progress of this affair. Finally, as we are convinced and certain that your Majesty detests this crime in your heart, and that the said de Baas undertook it on his own authority only, and without having received any instructions to that effect from your Majesty, it has seemed advisable to us to assure your Majesty that, in dismissing de Baas, we had no thought or wish to interrupt in any way the negotiations now pending; desiring, on the contrary, in all candour and simplicity of soul, that false interpretations and subjects of evil suspicions may be cast aside; and that a solid and sincere peace be made. To this end, we have deputed commissioners to enter into conference with M. de Bordeaux upon articles so conceived as to serve as grounds and foundations for peace, according to the interest, and with the agreement of both parties; and nothing will be spared on our side that may conduce to the happy termination of this affair. We earnestly commend your Majesty and your dominions to the protection of God.

Whitehall, June 29, 1654.

III.—CROMWELL TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Most eminent Cardinal,

In our letter to the king, we have set forth the grounds and occasions moving us to order M. de Baas to depart out of this Commonwealth; and have assured his Majesty, that notwithstanding this deceit of the said de Baas, the blame of which we impute to him alone, we persist as heretofore in the same purpose of endeavouring and obtaining a firm and intimate peace and amity with France. And it gives us pleasure, on this occasion, to renew those former

testimonies of our good inclination towards you and your interests : which also, as opportunity offers, we shall in future be ready to manifest and clearly demonstrate. In the meanwhile, we commend your Eminency to the keeping of the Almighty.

Whitehall, June 29, 1654.

APPENDIX III.

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I.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 1 Janvier, 1654.

. . . . . Monsieur le Protecteur se met en possession de toutes les prérogatives que sa nouvelle charge lui peut donner, ayant pris aujourd'hui possession de la Tour, et reçu dans la maison de ville les compliments et la reconnaissance de tous les corps de métier. Son Conseil qui n'est encore que de quatorze, nous envoya le Maître des Cérémonies, il y a deux jours, pour nous faire part de ce changement, et que désormais nous devions faire nos adresses : à son Altesse Monseigneur le Protecteur de la République d'Angleterre, Ecosse, et Irlande ; et ensuite il me laissa aller qu'il prétendait en user envers les ministres étrangers de la même façon que les rois, puisque son pouvoir n'était pas moindre que le leur, et que tous les ministres qui n'avaient point qualité d'ambassadeurs parleraient à lui debout et tête nue ; sur quoi je crus devoir faire quelque difficulté, et lui témoigner que, par la même raison, les ministres qui avaient aussi grand pouvoir que les ambassadeurs devaient prétendre d'être traités avec autant de civilité. Il n'eut d'autre répartie, sinon que l'on chercherait quelque voie d'accommodement, qui sera sans doute de demeurer de part et d'autre debout et découvert, puisqu'il en a usé de même façon, recevant visite des seigneurs Anglais. Le dit sieur Maître des Cérémonies me témoigna que l'on ferait plaisir à M. le Protecteur de surseoir les compliments pour quelques jours, pendant lesquels il se changeait à Whitehall. Messieurs les députés de Hollande ayant reçu cette même visite et compliment, me vinrent aussitôt trouver pour savoir mon sentiment, et me témoignèrent être résolus de ne le point voir, s'il exigeait d'eux ce grand respect ; et comme

leur affaire les engage aux premières démarches, ils feront la planche des autres. Pour moi, je m'accommoderai à tous les expédients que la bienséance permettra, principalement si je trouve de la disposition à l'accommodement dont je ne puis encore rien vous dire avec certitude, la politique voulant que M. le Protecteur, pour rendre son administration agréable, et soulager les peuples, rétablisse commerce avec la France, que tout le peuple désire, et d'ailleurs m'étant donné avis qu'assurément il nous fera de grandes demandes de dédommagement, et d'ailleurs même le Sieur Beverning m'ayant dit dans cette dernière visite, qu'il n'avait point de réponse à faire sur cette proposition. Quelques raisons d'intérêt politique et de bienséance dont j'aie pu me servir pour leur persuader d'aider à nos affaires avec plus de chaleur, ils ne m'ont donné aucune bonne parole. Ainsi, Monsieur, il est encore bien difficile de garantir l'événement de ma négociation, toute l'autorité se trouvant entre les mains de celui qui depuis mon arrivée a témoigné beaucoup de froideur pour la France, nonobstant les assurances que j'ai tâché de donner des bons sentiments de Sa Majesté envers cet Etat. . . . .

II.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 5 Janvier, 1654.

. . . . . Celle (la difficulté) qui le présente dans la visite de Monsieur le Protecteur m'a jusqu'à présent empêché de lui faire compliment sur son élévation. J'avais espéré qu'il prendrait le parti d'en user avec nous comme avec les seigneurs Anglais. Mais le Maître des Cérémonies m'a dit depuis deux jours que quatre du conseil devaient régler ces cérémonies, et que cependant je pourrais m'adresser au sécretaire pour avoir audience, ce que je fis Samedi. La réponse me devait être rendue aujourd'hui. Il m'a semblé, Monsieur, à propos d'en user de la façon, principalement après que les députés de la Hollande ont refusé de traiter mondit sieur le Protecteur en roi, jusques à ce que sa Majesté m'ait ordonné le contraire ; et cependant je ne laisserai pas de lui faire savoir la part qu'elle prend à sa nouvelle dignité, afin que ce retardement ne s'áttribue point au défaut de bonne volonté ; et si même la déférence qu'il désire est capable d'avancer nos affaires, je passerai par dessus toutes ces considérations ; mais

il serait rude de s'exposer à une bassesse sans profit, et la lettre que j'ai écrite au secrétaire, parlant de lui avec les termes qu'il desire, doit produire le même effet qu'une visite, pour peu qu'il soit bien intentionné envers la France.

III.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 7 Avril, 1654.

MONSIEUR,

IL ne me reste de temps que pour accuser reception de la lettre qu'il vous a plu m'écrire le 28eme du passé, et vous faire savoir ma réception dans Londres. Le Maître des Cérémonies m'est venu prendre à Greenwich, où je m'etais rendu ce matin, et m'a mené dans les berges de l'Etat jusques à la Tour, où deux ministres du conseil, le grand ecuyer, gendre de son Altesse, et beaucoup d'officiers m'ont reçu. M. de Baas et un de mes beaux-frères se sont mis dans son carrosse, et le reste avec une infinité d'autres personnes qui s'étaient aussi rendues à Greenwich dans les carrosses de toute la noblesse qui est dans Londres. J'ai été conduit en cet ordre dans la maison des ambassadeurs où je dois être traité trois jours, quoique cela soit seulement dû aux extraordinaires, au moins le Maître des Cérémonies s'en est ainsi expliqué à moi, pour me faire voir que son Altesse considère particulièrement le ministre de Sa Majesté; je devais avoir demain audience, mais l'avis m'étant venu qu'une partie de mon équipage arrivera, elle s'est remise au lendemain, pour la rendre plus solennelle. Il est permis de juger du succés de ma négociation par les souhaits publics, et l'affluence du peuple qui s'est trouvé dans les lieux par où j'ai passé, elle sera sans doute conforme aux intentions de Sa Majesté. . . . . .

IV.—M. DE BAAS TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Londres, le 7 Avril, 1654.

M. l'Ambassadeur a fait aujourd'hui son entrée. Nous avons été ce matin à Greenwich, où le Maître des Cérémonies est venu. Le diner, la compagnie et le cortège ont été fort beaux. Nous avons été conduits dans des berges de l'Etat sur la Tamise et avons mis pied à terre a la Tour de Londres, où le carrosse de M. le Protecteur nous attendait. Le Ch^{er} Cooper, M. Shirlan, M. Clepoul gendre de S. A., et M. Horus,

capitaine de ses gardes, avec les deux commissaires généraux de l'armée et quantité d'officiers nous ont reçus : le Ch^er. Cooper a porté la parole à M. l'Ambassadeur, et après que tout le monde lui a eu fait la révérence, ils m'ont aussi salué. Puis M. Shirlan a dit que S. A. ne pouvait me recevoir comme un ambassadeur, mais que le caractère que je portais du roi et l'honneur que j'avais d être à V. E. obligeaient M. le Protecteur de me traiter avec toutes les civilités qui lui étaient possibles. J'ai répondu que je connaissais la différence des caractères entre M. l'Ambassadeur et moi ; qu'il était l'image du roi pour lequel tout Français devait avoir du respect et que je m'étais assez expliqué à M. sur cette affaire. Après ces compliments nous sommes montes en carrosse : M. le Ch^er. Cooper a fait monter M. l'Ambassadeur et est monté après lui ; M. Shirlan m'a traité de même : ainsi au passage des portes et dans le souper cette cérémonie a été observée.

V.—M. DE BAAS TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Londres, 10 Avril, 1654.

M. le Chevalier Cooper prit la gauche de M. l'Ambassadeur, depuis la sortie du carrosse jusques auprès de S. A. de laquelle il fût reçu avec un visage civil, mais sérieux et conforme à l'action. M. et moi les suivions dans le même ordre, avec une petite différence, de sa part fort exacte. L'accueil de S. A. pour moi fût plus ouvert, et riant, pareil à celui d'un supérieur qui revoit un particulier dont la venue ne lui est pas désagréable ; et il semblait par cet air adouci dont il me salua trois fois qu'il voulût confirmer les paroles de civilité qu'on m'avait données de sa part et me témoigner quelque gré de ce que je faisais.

APPENDIX IV.

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GENERAL CROMWELL TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Westminster, the 9th of June, 1653.

It's surprize to me that your Eminency should take notice of a person so inconsiderable as myself, living (as it were) separate from the world. This honour has (as it ought)

a very deep impression upon me, and does oblige to serve your Eminency upon all occasions, so as I shall be happy to find out, so I trust, that very honourable person Monsieur Burdoe will therein be helpfull to

Your Eminency's thrice
humble servant,
O. Cromwell, P.

APPENDIX V.

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I.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, — Janvier, 1653.

. . . . . Il m'a été demandé s'il y aurait sûreté pour envoyer un ambassadeur en France sur le discours que j'en avais tenu ; j'ai assûré que l'on n'y avait jamais violé le droit des gens, et que le droit d'hospitalité dont S. M. usait n'empêcherait point qu'elle ne reçût ceux qui seraient envoyés en France. Si cette proposition m'est faite à dessein, je ne le puis pas assûrer ; j'en entends tous les jours de si différentes qu'il n'est pas à propos de prendre beaucoup de mesures sur ce qu'on dit bien souvent pour connaître avec quel esprit j'agis. Il est bien difficile d'établir l'opinion de sincérité ; l'on y prend des ombrages sur des sujets qui ne peuvent s'imaginer.

II.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 10 Avril, 1653.

Monsieur,

Je rendis Vendredi dernier réponse aux commissaires du Conseil d'Etat sur les propositions qu'ils m'avaient faites dans la dernière conférence, et leur parlai de la prolongation du délai de trois mois dans des termes qui m'engagent point l'honneur de Sa Majesté à recevoir un refus. Après quelques discours sur ce sujet dont la résolution fut remise au Conseil d'Etat, ils me témoignèrent que ce n'était pas la principale question qui se devait traiter, et que si Sa Majesté avait dessein de faire quelque liaison avec leur Etat, que l'intérêt des marchands ne les tiendrait point, me disant par une

espèce de mepris: "Quoi? nous nous amusons ici à des marchands; ce n'est pas là le nœud de l'affaire." Ils me laisserent ensuite aller, qu'il y avait d'autres mesures à prendre et que nous devions considérer l'Angleterre comme l'État qui est capable de faire pencher la balance. Je ne pus pas m'empêcher de les assûrer qu'ils trouveraient toujours autant de disposition en nous, de bien vivre avec eux, qu'ils en auraient de bien vivre avec nous. Ils me parlèrent aussi de la retraite que nous avions donnée au Prince Robert, avec de prises au préjudice des arrêts et règlements du conseil du roi, et qu'ils n'en pourraient ûser de même qu'avec le Portugal. Je leur témoignai qu'ils avaient tort de se plaindre après avoir reçu les députés de M. le Prince et du Comte d'Ognon; à quoi ils me répondirent qu'il y avait grande différence, n'ayant point été reçus avec de prises et contre la France, et leur négociation n'ayant produit aucun effet. De là ils vinrent à parler du Roi d'Angleterre que leur donnait avec raison sujet de douter de notre bonne volonté. Mais je leur dis que les raisons de sang et le droit de l'hospitalité ne permettaient pas que Sa Majesté en ûsât autrement, et qu'ils n'en devaient concevoir aucun ombrage, s'ils voulaient juger de l'avenir par le procédé du passé. Cette conversation, en termes d'amitié plutôt que de reproche, finit par des assûrances d'une entière disposition à s'accommoder. . . . . .

III.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Londres, 9 Mai, 1653.

MONSEIGNEUR,

RIEN n'était capable de retarder le traité de paix qui m'avait été proposé et dont j'étais demeuré d'accord devant même que les ordres et pouvoirs m'en fussent venus, sinon le changement arrivé en cet Etat Mercredi dernier. Votre Eminence apprendra par les lettres que j'écris à M. le Comte de Brienne, la disposition des affaires et l'autorité du général plus grande que n'a été celle des rois d'Angleterre et qui me confirme dans la pensée qu'une lettre de civilité sans autre proposition, sur cette conjoncture présente, pourrait produire l'effet dont l'on m'avait donné des assûrances, si la rupture du

Parlement ne fût survenue contre l'attente des plus éclairés et même de ceux qui en sont les auteurs. Jusques à présent il ne m'a pas été possible de faire les compliments qui me semblent nécessaires dans cette occasion. Mon dessein est de témoigner que Sa Majesté et principalement votre Eminence apprendront avec joie la nouvelle de l'heureux succès dont Dieu favorise son entreprise. Il m'a été confirmé que M. le Prince le traite d'excellence. L'on pourrait avec raison lui donner aujourd'hui des titres plus élevés, s'il fallait se régler sur son pouvoir et l'estime que l'on a de sa conduite, ne paraissant dans ce changement pas un gouverneur ni officier de terre ou mer contraire à ses intérêts, quoique le Parlement fût rempli de personnes d'esprit opposées à sa grandeur.

APPENDIX VI.

(Pages 78, 81.)

I.—AVIS A MONSEIGNEUR LE CARDINAL SUR LE DESSEIN DU PROTECTEUR D'ANGLETERRE DE RÉUNIR EN UNE TOUTES LES COMMUNIONS PROTESTANTES; AVEC LE MOYEN DE LE PRÉVENIR ET DE L'EN EMPECHER.

Paris, 21 Juillet, 1654.

MONSEIGNEUR,

SI V. Eminence a fait quelque considération du moyen que je lui ai proposé, et si elle le juge solide et utile pour ramener à l'église nos compatriotes qui l'ont délaissée, je crois qu'elle en reconnaîtra maintenant l'importance plus spéciale sur les avis, qui viennent d'Angleterre, du dessein qu'a le Protecteur de faire assembler un concile de toutes les communions protestantes, et d'en promouvoir la convocation, pour les réunir en un corps par la confession commune d'une même foi. Comme toutes les raisons de sa conduite et de ses intérêts autorisent grandement la vraisemblance de cet avis, je ne doute point aussi que V. Eminence juge que pour prévenir les maux qu'il machine à l'Eglise, et en particulier à la France par ce dessein, il est à propos de le prévenir et de couper liaison à tout ce qu'il projette, auparavant qu'il fasse éclore tout à coup ce qu'il dispose maintenant sourdement, selon l'ordinaire de ses procédures. Car il

a besoin, pour préparer la tenue de ce concile, et pour disposer ce qu'il y veut faire resoudre d'une commune voix d'envoyer par avance donner connaissance de ses intentions, et de consulter les avis des plus habiles ministres et professeurs qui sont en France, à Genève, en Suisse, en Allemagne, en Pologne, en Suède, en Danemarck, et en Hollande, outre ce qu'il y a dans l'Angleterre et dans l'Ecosse, pour requérir ensuite les autres républiques et les princes de ces communions là, d'y envoyer leurs députes. Mais il y a apparence qu'il ne le fera, ni ne s'en déclarera ouvertement que par l'autorité du Parlement qu'il doit assembler dans le mois de Septembre, où c'est qu'il fera résoudre publiquement la convocation d'un concile des trois nations, et l'envoi vers les autres Etats séparés de la communion catholique, pour les convier d'y faire aller leurs députés.

Je sais que V. E. a eu connaissance que divers ministres ont passé de France vers lui, et qu'elle est informée qu'il y a environ six mois un des ministres Français de Londres a passé ici allant à Genève et en Suisse, l'un des missionaires, sans doute, de cette négociation. En la personne duquel il est particulièrement à remarquer pour le choix que le Protecteur a fait de lui, qu'étant homme de sens et d'érudition, Suisse de nation, nourri à Genève, il a demeuré longtemps en Dauphiné, précepteur des enfants du Marquis de Montbrun, d'auprès duquel il a été appelé à Londres, pour y être ministre ; ce qui s'est fait par l'entremise du Marquis de Cugnac, beau-frère du Marquis de Montbrun, et par le crédit du sieur de Mayerne son beau-père qui sont là les plus considérables de Français de leur communion. Toutes ces circonstances rendent sa négociation plus digne d'être observée, en laquelle il n'aura pas omis, sans doute, de voir tout ce qu'il y a de plus habiles ministres sur son chemin.

Or comme la convocation de ce concile ne peut avoir d'autre fin que le dessein de former une ligue de toutes les communions protestantes, il est aisé de voir que l'intention particulière de celui qui en est le promoteur, ne tend aussi-ailleurs qu' à se faire chef de cette ligue, pour les engager à une guerre de religion, laquelle il ne peut faire qu'il ne l'entreprenne contre la France. Cependant qu'il en ourdit la trame,

il endort l'Espagne (malheureusement opiniâtrée en la guerre avec nous) par un traité de ligue offensive et defensive avec elle, afin de l'éloigner toujours davantage des pensées et des inclinations à la paix. Mais il cherche avec nous, par les artifices qui lui sont familiers, des prétextes, de mésintelligence et de querelle, pour en faire naître, quand il voudra, des causes d'une rupture entière et ouverte. . . . . .

. . . Comme il est en effet très-habile politique, il connait très-bien qu'il n'a point de moyen plus puissant pour affermir en sa main la puissance qu'il a usurpée, et pour se concilier, à cette fin, la bienveillance de ses peuples, que de les flatter et de leur complaire sur le sujet de la religion qui domine dans ses Etats. Il s'est declaré pour cet effet Calviniste, incontinent après qu'il s'est porté pour souverain au gouvernement, sous le titre de Protecteur. Mais pour faire voir son zèle envers une religion qu'il professe, il faut qu'il emploie son autorité par quelque action solennelle, capable de toucher le coeur et de frapper les yeux du peuple, pour leur faire croire qu'il en desire et qu'il en procure, à bon escient, l' établissement et la propagation. Il ne le peut mieux faire que par la tenue de ce concile, où il ne manquera pas de leur faire entendre, par un discours plausible aux sentiments de ceux qui composeront l'assemblée, " qu'en toutes les choses qu'il a faites il ne s'est proposé que ce qui concerne la gloire de Dieu, pour l'avancement de la religion qu'ils ont repurgée de toutes les erreurs de la Papauté et réformée selon la vérité de l'Evangile : que pour ôter l'obstacle qui était fait à l'entier accomplissement de la réformation, par l'autorité des Evêques, et par l'établissement des cérémonies papistiques qui étaient demeurées dans l'Angleterre, il a été nécessaire d'abolir la domination précédente qui les avait voulu retablir pareillement dans l'Ecosse, faisant par ce moyen tous ses efforts de les assujettir de rechef sous le joug du Pape et de l'Eglise Romaine : qu'après la bénédiction que Dieu a donnée à ses conseils et à ses armes pour les en délivrer et pour les remettre en leur entière liberté, ayant détruit la tyrannie qui les opprimait, il n'y a rien à quoi il se sente tant obligé, ou qu'il souhaite davantage, que de procurer la réunion de tous ceux qui sont sortis de l'Eglise Romaine pour embrasser la pûreté de l'Evangile, à quoi tend

la fin de la convocation de leur assemblée." Suivant cette protestation et pour en accomplir la proposition, il y fera résoudre deux choses. La première sera l'union des Calvinistes et des Luthériens. Ce que les Calvinistes désirent de toute leur affection, comme ils en ont toujours recherché les occasions et les moyens, ainsi que ceux de France l'ont témoigné au Synode de Charenton, en l'an 1631, où ils admirent les Luthériens à leur communion, désirant pareillement recevoir la leur. La seconde chose et la principale que Cromwell fera résoudre en ce concile, sera de déclarer par un article de foi exprés et formel que le Pape est l'antéchriste et que l'Eglise Catholique, qui le reconnaît pour son chef, est la Babylone prédite dans l'Apocalypse; que c'est le faux prophète, et la femme paillarde, qui a enivré les rois de la terre de la coupe de ses abominations et de ses paillardises. . . . . Il ne faut point douter que ce ne soit là le fondement principal qu'il veut faire établir dans ce concile, pour une conjuration universelle de tous les Protestants à la nécessité de la guerre contre le Pape. Car jusqu'à présent ils n'en ont point determiné d'article de foi. Ils en ont bien soutenu l'opinion dans leurs écrits et composé plusieurs volumes pour le faire croire. Ils en ont pris le prétexte le plus spécieux pour autoriser la nécessité de leur séparation d'avec nous fondée en cette parole : Sortez de Babylone, mon peuple. De quoi Luther fit aussi le titre du premier ouvrage de sa révolte. Mais d'avoir obligé les consciences à cette haîne irréconciliable contre le Pape et ceux qui lui adherent, quelque intention que les ministres en aient eu jusqu'à présent, ils ne l'ont pu faire. Ceux de France l'avaient entrepris, et en avaient dressé l'article au Synode de la Rochelle, mais Henri IV., qui connaissait l'esprit de la faction qui leur donnait lors cette inspiration nouvelle, empêcha qu'ils ne le publiassent et fit supprimer les examplaires de leur confession de foi où ils l'avaient déjà inseré, plusieurs desquels sont néanmoins demeurés qui se conservent dans leurs cabinets. Les Puritains d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse, qui ont tous les mêmes sentiments que les Calvinistes de France n'auraient pas été moins zèlés à faire la même déclaration, si le Roi Jacques, qui craignait la conséquence de ce zèle, n'en eût arrêté l'impétuosité, d'où

provenait aussi la principale cause de la haîne qu'ils lui portaient, et à toute le parti Episcopal, qu'ils tenaient pour demi-papiste et ne la haïssaint pas moins. Mais Cromwell qui sait mieux que personne que ce zèle a été le principal moyen duquel il s'est servi lui-même, pour faire perdre la couronne et la vie au fils et au successeur de ce roi et son héritier en la haîne de Puritains, connaît aussi qu'il ne peut attirer leur amour par aucun autre moyen plus puissant que de se servir de l'autorité de ce concile, qu'il veut assembler, pour donner ce plein contentement au zèle passionné qu'ils ont contre le Pape. Il sait fort bien qu'il ne peut attirer les Ecossais par un appât plus friand que de leur servir ce ragoût de la chasse de la bête Romaine (qui est le titre sous lequel un de leurs ministres a combattu l'autorité du Pape), capable de faire accourir du haut de leurs montagnes tous les plus fiers et les plus mutins, pour venir s'énroler dans les bandes qui passeront la mer pour une si sainte et si agréable expédition, qui leur promet l'accomplissement des ouvertures que leur a fait de l'Apocalypse. Il sait encore qu'il ne peut mieux apaiser les Anabaptistes (s'ils sont en effet aussi animés contre lui comme ils en font semblant) que de rehausser en leurs esprits cette même fantaisie, par laquelle on vit, dans leur naissance, quarante mille hommes prendre les armes et faire d'horribles ravages dans l'Allemagne, sous la trompette de , qui leur inspira de s'élever contre les magistrats souverains, en leur disant que ce sont eux qui ont donné leur puissance à la bête, et qu'il faut les abattre par conséquent pour la détruire : ce qui fut encore suivi des tragédies sanglantes excitées à Munster par la fureur de Jean de Leyden et de Kniperdoling, pour accomplir de la sorte leurs prophéties.

Toute la politique de Cromwell ne donne point d'expedient plus propre d'unir ensemble les Anglais et les Ecossais, pour servir à ses intentions, que de les exciter par ce zèle de la religion Calviniste ; en leur promettant que par le moyen de ses armes et des succès que doit leur faire espérer l'exemple de ce qu'il a fait jusqu'à présent, ils obtiendront bientôt ce qu'ils appellent la délivrance et le triomphe de l'Eglise. Car il les trouvera tous très-ardents et très-obéissants à tout ce qu'il voudra toutes fois et quantes qu'il s'agira d'accomplir de la sorte

une prophétie célèbre que tout leur peuple a dans la bouche, comme un des principaux oracles de la réformation. C'est une parole qu'ils attribuent à Robert, Evéque de Lincoln, qui vivait il y a environ 400 ans, sous le Papes Grégoire IX. et CelestinI V. par laquelle ils disent qu'en mourant et appelant le Pape l'Antéchriste, il fit cette déclaration prophétique : *non liberabitur ecclesia et Egyptiacâ servitute, nisi in ore gladii.*

Quant aux Calvinistes de France, la liaison desquels avec les Anglais et les Ecossais est ce que Cromwell a principalement intention de faire, par le moyen de son concile, pour les associer aux mêmes intérêts auxquels leur conscience sera obligée par ce nouvel article de foi, il n'ignore point l'efficace qu'il aura sur leurs esprits, et quel mouvement il est capable d'exciter en eux pour se joindre avec lui, toutes fois et quantes qu'il viendra arborer, dans nos côtes, l'étendard de la délivrance de leur Eglise. Car pour connaître de quelle sorte ils y sont arrivés et ce que pourra dans l'occasion sur leur courage ce sentiment qu'ils ont, les premiers, voulu réduire en article de foi, il ne faut que lire l'épître latine du au Roi de la Grande Bretagne, auquel il dédie son mystère d'Iniquité. Ce fut l'année d'après la mort de Henri IV., car la date en est remarquable pour reconnaître leur propension à penser à choses nouvelles, en toutes occasions qui leur en presentent quelques ouvertures. Il adresse sa parole au Roi Jaques, mais il a gardait en effet à son fils aîné, Prince de qui les mouvements d'esprit et de courage le faisaient lors regarder de tous les factieux zélés de ce parti-là pour un futur entrepreneur de plusieurs nouveautés à leur avantage. Il dit à ce roi : " Qu'il est tenu de quitter la plume et de prendre l'épée ; que ce temps demandait d'autres mœurs et qu'il avait besoin d'autres armes ; qu'il fallait réunir les princes et les peuples divisés de parti, passer sur ce croupe des Alpes, où le Pô s'ouvrant et l'Appennin se fendant en deux pour lui faire passage, il en verrait plusieurs courir de toutes parts vers l'enseigne de leur liberté, tirant droit à Rome, que personne n'avait jamais attaquée sans succés : qu'au seul son des trompettes on verrait ses monts abaissés et ses murs renversés par terre. Il se promet que Dieu jetterait le Pape (qu'il appelle le Jupiter du Capitole) à bas de son siége, pour n'y être

jamais rétabli. Il exhorte ce roi de ne souffrir pas qu'un autre lui ravisse la couronne ou la palme de ce bel exploit, qui lui devait être plus cher que son sang ni sa vie. Il invoque Dieu et lui demande qu'il se réveille et qu'il se lève, qu'il appelle son serviteur, qu'il prenne son oingt par la main, qu'il marche devant lui, pour combler les vallées, applanir les montagnes, asseicher les fleuves de frayeur, ouvrir les portes, briser les barres et faire tomber Jéricho, par l'esprit de sa bouche, en la présence de ce conquérant." En cet enthousiasme ce bon vieillard dit à ce roi que lui-même, "quoique âgé de plus de 60 ans, marcherait à ses côtés et qu'il se trouverait à la mêlée dans les premiers rangs, pour chanter après la voix de l'ange : *elle est chute la grande Babylone*, et au milieu de la joie du triomphe, se sentant prochain de l'Eternel, mourir pour être ravi dans le ciel."

Il est bien certain que ce discours enflé de termes et de figures poétiques, ne fut en effet autre chose pour lors que le songe d'un vieillard qui rêve, enivré de la vapeur de son hérésie. Mais néanmoins c'est véritablement la corruption et le désir que leur donne cette opinion échauffée par leur zèle. Le roi auquel il s'adressait, peu touché de ce zèle des Puritains, non plus que de l'envie de passer les Alpes, ne put sans doute lire ce discours sans se rire de son auteur, duquel il se moqua depuis plus ouvertement, et de tous ses semblables, lorsque, quelques anneés après, le sieur de Plessis abandonna lui même la place qu'il tenait pour son parti, et vit tomber par terre les meilleures villes qui en soutenaient la faction, sans que ce roi qu'ils réclamèrent se souciât non plus de secourir leur Jérusalem que d'aller attaquer leur Babylone. Mais cette même exhortation, adressée aujourd'hui à Cromwell par l'esprit secret de tous les Calvinistes de France, qui disent dans leur cœur et d'une affection commune la même chose que ce qu'ils lisent dans ce livre avec foi et admiration, doit faire indubitablement en sa pensée un tout autre effet qu'en l'esprit du Roi Jacques. C'est un miroir pour lui où il voit le succès qu'il doit attendre de ses desseins, toutes fois et quantes qu'il voudra les appeler pour joindre leur main avec la sienne, afin d'en faire l'exécution. . . . . .

Pour cet effet, venant armé et muni de forces tres-puissantes,

il publiera partout où il aura pris pied que son intention n'est point de nuire aux peuples, ni d'envahir leur bien : qu'il ne vient que pour les convier à leur liberté, tant pour la condition de leur vie que de la religion, en laquelle il n'entend néanmoins contraindre personne : que son principal but est de les affranchir de toutes les vexations qu'ils souffrent de la domination sous laquelle ils vivent. Car il sait que les peuples qui se trouvent las et harassés des grandes charges que la pesanteur d'une longue guerre, pleine de désordres et d'excès, leur fait supporter ; qui sont d'ailleurs accoutumés, par l'artifice des esprits séditieux qui les ont quasi tous corrompus, à porter bien peu de respect et d'amour à ceux qui les gouvernent ; quand ils conserveront l'espérance d'être soulagés et de jouir de plus de repos et de liberté, ils se rendront facilement susceptibles de ces impressions. Il sait encore ce que fait l'habitude des vices et des débauches ordinaires dans les esprits des hommes, pour les porter au changement de religion ; que le grand nombre de profanes et d'athées, qui se trouvent partout, sans sentiment ni affection pour les verités et les exercices de la foi et de la religion catholique, mère de l'austérité, de la pénitence et de la sainteté de vie, n'auront pas grand peine à la quitter ; qu'il trouvera parmi ceux qui sont de cette trempe et dans une infinité d'ignorants, toutes les dispositions qu'il désire pour leur faire goûter sa religion, pleine d'une part de relâchement et de libertinage, et d'autre part spécieuse au raisonnement humain et commode à l'inquiétude que le remords du pêché donne à la conscience. Pour raison de quoi l'homme vicieux se plaît naturellement à l'hérésie comme à la superstition, qui sont les deux extrêmes de la vraie religion catholique.

Mais la séduction la plus dangereuse par laquelle il espère de corrompre les esprits et de faire la plus douloureuse et la plus mortelle plaie à l'Eglise, est celle-qui a été partout la plus puissante pour en démolir les fondements, aux lieux où l'hérésie s'est une fois plantée. Car il sait que la grande quantité des biens de l'Eglise, très-mal employés entre les mains de la plupart de ceux qui les possédent, par où ils paraissent fort peu utiles au service de Dieu, étant présentés aux gens de cette humeur, à qui la religion touche d'ailleurs

fort peu au cœur, elle leur deviendra une amorce très-puissante pour les porter à la révolte contre l'Eglise et à l'abandon de la religion catholique. Il considère qu'il adviendra, comme en Angleterre et partout ailleurs, où l'hérésie a ruiné l'Eglise, que le voisin d'un bénéfice a sa bienséance, voyant qu'il se le peut approprier impunément, entrant dans le parti qui a la puissance, et qui lui promet de lui en conserver la possession, se laissera facilement surmonter à cette tentation, qui produirait en peu de temps une grande suite d'exemples. En effet c'est chose certaine, que les biens de l'Eglise, que le Saint-Esprit a conservées par la charité des fidèles pour être l'appui de sa foi, en la bouche et dans les mains de ceux qui s'en rendent dignes ministres, se voient devenus tout au contraire, par l'usage sacrilége de ceux qui en possédent la plus grande abondance, le sujet pour lequel elle a le plus à craindre sa ruine de la main de ses ennemis. Car il est nécessaire qu'elle tombe quand on lui ôtera ses biens, comme il est advenu partout où elle est tombée : mais qui pis est, sa ruine en est d'autant plus facile à faire à ceux qui la machinent, que pour les lui ravir, ses propres enfants mêmes se feront exprès ses ennemis. . . . .

(Signé) LAMILLETIÈRE.

[La dernière partie du Mémoire ne contient que l'exposition des moyens proposés par l'auteur pour ramener les Protestants dans le sein de l'Eglise, tels qu' un concile des debats théologiques et ses propres ouvrages.—Elle n'a nul intérêt historique ni politique.]

II.—DON ALONZO DE CARDEÑAS TO PHILIP IV.

13 March, 1634.

SIRE,

IN my letter of the sixth of the month, I informed your Majesty that I had entered upon the negociation which your Majesty had intrusted to me in your despatch of the 18th of November, in the last year, and had laid the matter before the Protector in a secret audience, on the 4th of this month; I announced the favourable acceptance which my proposals met with, and the satisfaction displayed by the Protector with the arguments which I made use of, to induce him to conclude an alliance and treaty of mutual interest with your Majesty.

It was arranged that he would transmit his reply through the Secretary of State; and accordingly it was brought to me by that minister on the 10th of this month. In a discussion which lasted three hours, he informed me that the Protector's great object was to secure for himself the position in which the Commonwealth placed him; that the advantage which I had described to him, although considerable, were remote, seeing moreover that France had proposed a peace which would be beneficial to England; that notwithstanding the Protector being convinced that he ought to prefer our alliance to that of France, and finding that his inclinations were in our favour, he had directed him to say, that moved by them and other considerations, he desired to unite himself with your Majesty, rather than with the Most Christian King. In the meanwhile, he said, it was necessary to take into account, that if England resolved upon an open war with France, the English people would bear with great discontent the consequent burden of imposts and taxes; that they were already irritated, even when the war was necessary, as was that which has hitherto been going on; and if these taxes were continued for the maintenance of a war undertaken wantonly, and which, so far from being useful, would be rather injurious, because of the interruption which it would cause to commercial relations, it would be absolutely necessary that your Majesty should bear the expense, and be prepared with sums of money to the required amount. Should your Majesty consent to this, the Protector was resolved upon declaring war against France, and giving a powerful support to the Prince of Condé. He (the Secretary of State) then asked what sums, in my opinion, your Majesty would be disposed to place at the service of the Protector. I answered, that my proposal was simply this,—that your Majesty and the Commonwealth should combine in making war on France; in which case both parties alike should furnish supplies to the Prince of Condé; because it was just and reasonable that the advantages being likely to be equal the expenses should be borne in common, and that if all the charges of the war were to fall on your Majesty it would be impossible to supply them, your Majesty already having to provide for so many other affairs. However, I said, that

before giving a definitive reply, I should desire to be informed what sum the Protector expected to receive from us. The Secretary of State persisted in saying that it was I who should determine how much your Majesty would contribute. I declined to say, in order to gain time, and that I might be able to consult the Archduke, and wait his orders in reply. I dwelt upon the great advantages which would result to the Commonwealth of England, if your Majesty would bind yourself not to conclude a peace with France, without the consent and contrary to the wishes of the Commonwealth, for it might so happen, that we should be forced to continue the war solely for the interests of the Commonwealth, when your Majesty should have already attained all your own objects. The consequence would be a very considerable expenditure, and it would then certainly be the case that the English Commonwealth would carry on the war for its own advantage and at its own cost. These were my remarks; but as their object is to avoid outlay, and to accomplish their purposes at the expense of others, they do not display any inclination to the measure which this negociation aims at, namely, that the Protector alone should declare war against France, and support the Prince of Condé. Evidently their design is to obtain from your Majesty, for the Protector, sums of money sufficiently ample to cover the expenses as well of this year, as of all others during which the war may continue.

The Secretary of State further observed that, as the Prince of Condé was not a sovereign, there would be some difficulty in making a treaty with him, and in obtaining a guarantee that he would not come to terms with his King. To this, I replied, that in affairs of such a nature, one should not calculate too strictly; the Prince of Condé is a man of great courage and great reputation, and inasmuch as he was almost indispensable to his party in France, because he was a prince of the blood and possessed many privileges in the realm, there was no reason for refusing to treat with him. Nevertheless, to satisfy the Protector on this point, the way would be to make a treaty with your Majesty, and include in it the Prince of Condé as your Majesty's ally. To this, the Secretary of

State appeared to assent. If the prince should be enabled to re-establish his party in Guienne or elsewhere, with the help of your Majesty and England, and to consolidate its power, he would be able to cause great embarrassments to France, and so furnish your Majesty with the opportunity of recovering the places in possession of the enemy in Spain and Flanders. If, in order to make this effort, resources could be procured, we should have the most favourable opportunity for the attainment of our object; for your Majesty being allied with England we should be sure to succeed. Holland would have to think of new enterprises; Portugal could not hope to subsist without the assistance of England and France, and would demand peace—a peace advantageous to us, which once made could be assured by the mutual obligation that its permanency should be protected by the arms of one party and the other. But if resources cannot be obtained, the consequence will be an exposure to the inconveniences and perils of an opposite state of things; for France is making every effort, and offers terms which can never be realized, in order to exclude us from this alliance, and to unite itself with England. I have sent this account of the whole affair to Flanders, but as they do not there possess the means, and, as far as I know, are without the necessary powers to authorize their venturing upon any offers of money, I do not expect much from the answer in that quarter; it will then be necessary that your Majesty should be pleased to order that a prompt decision should be come to upon the several points touched upon in this dispatch, and that I should be informed of the result by every means of communication possible, seeing how grave the conjuncture is. Even this very day, envoys have arrived here from Holland, charged to urge on the conclusion of a treaty of peace; and it is certain that they will do their utmost that it should include the King of France. Bordeaux, his envoy here, has recently received letters of credence, accrediting him in the character of an ambassador, with orders to congratulate the Protector, and assist in the instances of Holland, that the King should be included in the treaty of peace, and a more intimate alliance established; the only

event which can prevent this union is the success of the negociation between your Majesty and the Commonwealth of England.

May God preserve your Majesty, &c.

III.—THE ARCHDUKE LEOPOLD TO KING PHILIP IV.

Brussels, 21 March, 1654.

S. R. M. (Sacra Regia Majestas),

Don Alonzo de Cardeñas has informed me of the situation of affairs in England, and has entreated me to decide upon the sum which your Majesty would give to assist the English, in case they declared war against France; as his letter is forwarded to-day, your Majesty will find therein the details of the affair which he treats of; as for myself, I have made to him the communication, which your Majesty will find in the copy of the letter despatched herewith.

The English, it is true, do not declare war, in the interest of your Majesty exclusively; but, as the results will be most advantageous to your Majesty, it is, in my opinion, impossible not to assist them upon this occasion. I felt obliged to decide upon the amount of support in money, for the considerations stated in the letter addressed to your Majesty; may it please your Majesty to attribute my having done so to my zeal for the interests of your Majesty, which is the sole object of all my care.

IV.—AUG. NAVARRO TO DON ALONZO DE CARDEÑAS.

Brussels, 21 March, 1654.

I have communicated to his Highness the letter written to me by your Excellency, and the affair is of such a nature that his Highness would have desired to receive orders from his Majesty before adopting any resolution, or, at least, that your Excellency, on making your report, had accompanied with your formal opinion, expressed with that completeness and lucidity which are habitual to you; but as his Highness cannot await orders, on account of the pressure of circumstances and of the position in which we are placed, he has ordered me to inform your Excellency that he is fully aware

how important it would be to have the Protector on our side, not only inasfar as the Dutch are concerned (for their pride would be humbled if we were to unite with England), but, because, if England would engage to declare war against France, we should be sure to arrive at a reasonable peace, and by this means we should escape the danger of seeing the fleets of the two commonwealths on their way to the Indies. It would also be no small advantage to remove the Prince of Condé from those provinces, where his assistance was burdensome to us as it is unreliable. All these considerations, added to those which your Excellency adduces, based on the knowledge which you have of the mercenary character of England, would induce his Highness to send pecuniary assistance for the purpose which is proposed, if his Highness had any money at his disposal; but the want of funds which we experience here is, in truth, very great, and the expenses which we have to meet are numerous and unavoidable. Nevertheless, his Highness thinks we should not allow the favourable opportunity to escape, which is offered us by the good inclination of the Protector to thwart the negociations of the French; for whether they be included in the treaty with the Dutch, or whether they conclude one on their own account with the Protector, our affairs would be compromised in either case, and they would be delivered from their apprehensions. It is admitted that we must absolutely assist the English Government with a considerable sum of money, but we doubt whether we could fulfil our engagements with certainty, especially as we know how punctually the English will expect to receive the supplies, and how little we can obtain from Spain. In case we should decide on offering a sum of money to the Protector, we must not retrench the allowance already made to the Prince of Condé, or, at all events, nothing must be said about it beforehand.

His Highness is of opinion that your Excellency might offer the Protector, in case he would declare war against France, fifty thousand crowns a month, payable at St. Sebastian, to the person appointed to receive it by the Protector. The first offer should be from thirty to forty thousand crowns; for although, as I have just informed your Excellency, we

have no orders here to do so, yet, as it is to be feared that the French may conclude their treaty in one way or another, his Highness think that, if your Excellency goes so far, the negociation will be rendered more easy, and the English will prove more accommodating, as they will prefer an alliance with His Majesty, from whom they will receive subsidies, to the deceitful promises of France. Your Excellency will use this latitude with your habitual prudence, which his Highness hopes will meet with the greatest success in this negociation. By the same course, his Highness will send a full account of the whole affair to his Majesty, that he may deign to give the necessary orders for the payment of the money in question. May God keep your Excellency!

V.—OPINION OF THE SPANISH COUNCIL OF STATE ON THE CONTENTS OF THREE LETTERS RELATING TO THE NEGOCIATIONS PENDING WITH CROMWELL.

Madrid, April 12, 1654.

The Council met *in pleno*, and was attended by the Marquis de Leganes, the Duke de Medina de las Torres, the Marquis de Valparaise, the Marquis de Velada, the Count de Peñarauda, Don Melchior de Borja, and the Count d'Oñate.

In the margin, these words are written in the King's hand:—"Let the advice of the Council of State be acted upon; and, with reference to the amount of assistance to be sent to Cromwell, and the period of its payment, I have ordered Don Luis de Haro to write to Don Alonzo de Cardeñas to inform him in what measure this assistance can be afforded; in other respects, I fully appreciate all the Council states on the subject of the advantages and importance of this affair."

SIRE,

THE Council met to-day *in pleno*, as your Majesty had ordained, and took cognizance of two letters from Don Alonzo de Cardeñas, dated on the 6th and 13th of March, and also of one letter from his lordship the Archduke, dated on the 21st of March. In all these letters, reports are given of the interviews which Don Alonzo has had with Cromwell in reference to the alliance between your Majesty and the Commonwealth of England, as well as with Cromwell himself; of the manner in which Don Alonzo made this proposition to

Cromwell; how Cromwell received it with great eagerness; how it was agreed that he should send Don Alonzo an answer by the Secretary of State, which he afterwards did; and how he consented to conclude an alliance with your Majesty in the form proposed by Don Alonzo, without agreeing himself to determine the sums which he would desire to obtain from your Majesty by way of subsidy. His Highness the Archduke, on his part, in the letter which Secretary Augustus Navarro wrote by his order to Don Alonzo, has stated that, if Cromwell would declare war against France, Spain would give him fifty thousand crowns a month, payable at St. Sebastian, and that the first offer should be thirty or forty thousand crowns. His Highness further observes, in his letter to your Majesty, that the advantages which would result from the conclusion of such an alliance are so great, that he thinks it impossible to refuse to grant this assistance to Cromwell.

The Council discussed this question at some length, regarding it as the most important that could present itself at any time, and more especially under existing circumstances, for in the present position of your Majesty's affairs in the whole Spanish monarchy, and in the midst of the dangers which threaten them, this alliance of your Majesty with the English would be a means of safety; and a declaration of war on their part against France, made on such conditions as might be agreed upon, would be very advantageous to the English themselves, not only because their interests are opposed to those of the French, but also because of the residence of King Charles in France, which King Charles will always seek to recover the throne of England, in which the French will not fail to assist him as soon as circumstances permit. It should also be borne in mind that, however costly this alliance may be, it will not be more so than the efforts which your Majesty will have to make to defend your kingdoms and states. The greatest difficulty which the Council see in the way of this negociation is the want of resources; for it will be absolutely indispensable scrupulously to fulfil towards Cromwell all the stipulations that may be agreed on; if this were not done, and if we appeared to distrust him, we should furnish him with reasons for a rupture—a contingency to which it is most

important not to give rise; and it would certainly occur if we did not fulfil our engagements towards him, for the English are very exact and very avaricious. Having carefully considered all these things, the Council are of opinion that an acknowledgment of the receipt of his letters should be sent immediately to Don Alonzo; that he should be most specially thanked for having made this proposition to Cromwell, as well as for the discernment and prudence with which he made it; and that he should be recommended to continue the negociation, without allowing it to drop for a moment. Answers to the same effect should be sent to both the Archduke and Don Alonzo, stating that much consideration has been given to the fact that Cromwell expects to receive large sums to make war against France. When two States conclude a league and alliance, each should contribute to it as far as it is itself concerned, according to the interests which it has at stake in the country where the war is to be carried on; but England has great interests at stake in France, not only on account of pretensions which date from past ages, but also on account of the residence in France of King Charles, who is protected by that country and by the King of France, whom the English ought to trust neither now, nor at any time: nevertheless, your Majesty permits (the Archduke) to act liberally, and to offer as much as the fifty thousand crowns which he mentions in his letters; moreover, the affair being so important, and calculated, if it should succeed, to lead to such fortunate and valuable results, both to the English and to the Spanish monarchy, it should not be allowed to fail for a sum of ten thousand crowns a month, more or less; as soon as the galleons are arrived, which, if it please God, will be during the course of June, we shall deliver to the consul at Cadiz, or to the person or persons provided with the necessary powers from the Parliament and the Protector, two or three hundred thousand crowns in bars of silver. In making this communication to the Archduke, your Majesty will deign to inform his highness of the order which will be sent to Don Alonzo, and of the offers which he is authorized to make, in order that his Highness may limit or extend them as he may think fit; adding that he must always strive to pull

in his purse strings, and to offer as little as possible, that the conditions may be more easily performed on the part of your Majesty.

The Council are likewise of opinion that we should send thirty thousand crowns to Don Alonzo at once, in order that, with such a sum at his disposal, he may treat and secure the favour of his friends, and such other persons as he may deem it advisable to conciliate, in order to bring this alliance to a satisfactory termination, and to hasten it as much as possible by employing to this end all his discernment, prudence, and address. He should also be recommended to inform the Archduke of all he does, and to act in conformity with his advice. In any case, the Council would desire to be informed of the orders sent to Don Alonzo, so as to be able to make observations thereon, if occasion required.

The Duke de Medina de las Torres, while agreeing with all that has already been decided, is of opinion that we should not allow such an opportunity as the present to escape, for uniting with the Commonwealth of England and the Protector, in the manner proposed by Don Alonzo, and that for this purpose we should make all imaginable efforts to perform the engagements we might contract, even should it be necessary to attempt impossibilities : for nothing less is at stake, in the conclusion of this affair, than the security of the Realms and States of your Majesty, as well as the possessions of your Majesty's great vassals, who should all, as in duty bound, assist you, to their utmost power, to fulfil this duty.

The opinion of the Duke is, that in order to conclude this affair as quickly as possible, Don Alonzo should even offer a hundred thousand crowns a month ; for when we consider the dangers which are to be feared for this monarchy, in its present state, this sum does not appear to him exorbitant.

The Marquis de Velada, also, agreeing with what has been determined, adds, that the sum which the Archduke has empowered Don Alonzo to offer, and even twice that amount, should be employed to obtain the object now desired ; for if once your Majesty is allied with England, you will no longer have to send such large supplies to Flanders, Italy, Catalonia,

and Portugal. We should also consider the condition in which we should be placed, if we allowed such an opportunity to escape. To attain this object, the Marquis offers all the capital he possesses, and declares that he could wish it were more considerable, that he might lay it at your Majesty's feet, as he now lays what he has.

The Count d'Oñate said that, even if we should not afterwards keep all our promises to Cromwell, he would not the less continue, on his part, to perform all he had agreed to do, no less on account of his own interest in the whole affair, than on account of the measures which will have been taken by him against the French ; for when once a rupture between them has been consummated, they will not easily become friends again.

Your Majesty will, however, ordain whatever may seem good to you on this subject.

APPENDIX VII.

(Pages 81, 82.)

I.—LOUIS XIV. TO CROMWELL.

Paris, 21 Février, 1654.

MONSIEUR LE PROTECTEUR,

J'AI été informé par plusieurs lettres du S^r^ de Bordeaux et plus particulièrement assuré par le retour du S^r^ de Baas des bonnes dispositions où vous vous trouvez afin que l'union qui a été au passé entre la France et l'Angleterre se continue. J'ai été aussi aise que vous pouvez vous l'imaginer des diligences qui sont faites pour que les affaires fussent de telle sorte établies que la fortune des deux nations en fût . Et comme je vois que la divine Providence vous a élevé à la grandeur où vous êtes, pour le bien de l'Angleterre, l'Ecosse et l'Irlande, j'en ai toute la joie qu'on peut en avoir. Ce sera des mains du S^r^ de Bordeaux, accompagné du S^r^ de Baas que vous recevrez cette lettre, avec les assûrances de ma parfaite amitié et des ordres qu'ils ont de renouveler avec vous en la qualité de Protecteur de l'Angleterre, l'Ecosse et l'Irlande, les ancien-

nes alliances qui ont été entre les mêmes pays et la France, d'y augmenter et d'y diminuer ce qui sera reconnu utile aux nations, de faire même un nouveau traité, s'il est jugé qu'il fût de l'avantage commun, et en cela comme en toutes sortes de rencontres de vous faire connaître ce que je défère à vos sentiments. Il ne me reste qu'à vous prier de prendre entière créance aux choses qui vous seront répétées de ma part par eux et de croire que c'est du fond de mon cœur que je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait, M^r^ le Protecteur, en sa sainte et digne garde.

II.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 2 Mars, 1654.

MONSIEUR,

J'AI reçu aujourd'hui les deux lettres que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire les 21 et 25 du mois passé, avec celle du roi, dans laquelle je vois qu'il plait à Sa Majesté me confier la négociation du traité entre la France et l'Angleterre, avec la qualité d'ambassadeur, que je reconnais au-dessus de mon mérite mais non pas de mon zèle et de ma fidélité pour son service ; et aussi ses intentions tant sur les ouvertures qui me peuvent être faites de la part de M^r^ le Protecteur que sur les titres dont je dois remplir mes pouvoirs. Les avis qui m'avaient été donnés par l'ordre précédent de cette résolution, me portent, pour ne point perdre un moment de temps qui maintenant semble assez favorable, à demander audience au Secrétaire du Conseil, sous prétexte de lui en faire part, afin de découvrir avec quels termes M^r^ le Protecteur désirer ait que Sa Majesté le traitât, et aussi pour le convier de vouloir entrer en traité, tandis que je me disposerais de prendre la qualité d'ambassadeur. Employant toutes les raisons qui le pouvaient persuader, sur le premier, il ne voulut point s'expliquer autrement sinon que son Altesse avait l'autorité souveraine et aussi grande que les rois, et que c'était à nous d'en user comme nous le jugerions à propos. Néanmoins après l'avoir bien pressé, il me promit un éclaircissement plus particulier dans peu de jours. Sur l'autre point de mon discours, il me dit ne pouvoir rien ajoûter à ce qu'il m'avait fait savoir autrefois, et que huit jours de plus ou de moins n'étaient pas considérables.

Depuis cette conversation un homme qui se mêle d'intrigue m'est venu trouver et m'a voulu faire entendre que le terme de *frère* serait bien agréable ; et comme la lettre du roi ne me permet pas d'aller si avant, j'avais résolu de chercher la réponse du dit Sieur Secrétaire, crainte qu'elle ne fut conforme à ce discours. Mais il a rencontré mon Interprète cette après-dînée, et l'a convié de l'aller voir ce soir, désirant l'entretenir sur ce que je lui avais dit. Ainsi peut-être avant la clôture de la présente, je pourrais être informé des prétentions de son Altesse ; et crainte qu'elles ne s'accordassent pas à mes ordres, j'ai donné charge à mon Secrétaire, si on lui témoigne désirer le titre de *frère*, qu'il réponde de soi-même que les pouvoirs m'ont été envoyés, afin d'avoir un prétexte pour me dispenser de donner cette qualité. Quant à celle d'Altesse et de Seigneur, dès le commencement de sa proclamation, le Maître des Cérémonies et depuis le Secrétaire du Conseil se sont expliqués assez précisement, qu'elle ne devait point être mise en question ; et m'étant informé de la manière dont en a usé l'ambassadeur d'Espagne et les députés de Hollande, je n'ai pu en tirer aucun éclaircissement, parceque l'un a parlé en latin, et l'autre dans sa langue dont les termes n'ont pas la même force. Mais sans doute cette question se videra, parcequ'il sera difficile de se dispenser de la qualité de cousin. Je tâcherai de régler le tout à la satisfaction du dit Sieur Protecteur, sans néanmoins outre passer les bornes qui me sont prescrites. Je veux croire que ce n'est pas seulement pour m'engager d'user des termes les plus honorables, mais plutôt par un veritable dessein de bien vivre avec la France, que depuis deux jours un des amis de M^r^ le Protecteur m'a dit qu'il était entièrement disposé à l'accommodement, que la seule difficulté qui s'y pourrait trouver serait sur le dédommagement, mais qu'elle se surmonterait avec peu de choses en effet et beaucoup en apparence. Quelques ministres ont parlé dans le même esprit, et présentement la voix publique ne permet pas d'en douter. Je crois que les intérêts particuliers de M^r^ le Protecteur en seront des principaux motifs. Ils n'iront pas néanmoins, si je ne me trompe, jusques à une liaison contre l'Espagne. Le Chevalier Digby m'a fait part d'une conversation qu'il a eu depuis peu avec M^r^ le Protecteur, dont les sentiments lui ont paru très-

favorables pour la France. Il m'assure n'avoir oublié aucune considération qui le puisse confirmer en cette bonne volonté, et qu'il continuera d'en user de même quand les occasions s'en présenteront, toute son ambition n'étant que de se rendre agréable en France par quelque service. Je ne sais si cette grande disposition qui paraît à l'accommodement est la cause du voyage des Sieurs Barrière et Cugnac. Ils sont partis ce matin sous prétexte d'aller à une foire pour Flandre, après avoir pris congé de M^r^ le Protecteur, le premier faisant espérer son retour à ceux de son parti devant Pâques et l'autre de servir dans l'armée de Monsieur le Prince. Ce pourrait être aussi à cause de la maladie du Sieur de Mazerolles qui n'a pu passer Douvres. Un de sa compagnie nommé Laporelle est ici resté fort malade. Au milieu de toutes ces belles apparences, quelques uns ne laissent pas de me vouloir persuader que les desseins d'ici sont doubles, que l'on espère toujours quelque chose de ceux de la religion, et que le médecin Ecossais nommé Maurus qui était ici venu, il y a trois ou quatre mois, de la part de quelques uns, s'en était retourné à Nîmes et que l'on aurait de ses nouvelles chez le Sieur Vignolles. On m'a même marqué quelques maisons où il a passé; mais comme l'auteur de cet avis n'est pas bien certain, je remets d'en envoyer un memoire jusques à ce qu'il ait été trouvé à propos d'approfondir cette matière. . . . . .

III.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 5 Mars, 1654.

Le dit S^r^ Secrétaire, après en avoir communiqué à S. A. m'écrivit hier au soir qu'elle entrerait en conférence privée, aussitôt que je lui aurais communiqué la lettre de créance; à quoi j'ai satisfait cette après-dînée, lui en envoyant une copie dans laquelle je me suis servi du terme de *cousin*. C'est le moindre dont l'on peut se servir pour le satisfaire; encore n'est-il pas sûr d'y réussir après ce qui ma été déclaré sur ce sujet. Mais comme la lettre de S. M. me prescrit ces bornes, j'ai affecté de ne point les étendre, pour ne la pas engager contre son intention. Je dois savoir demain si cette suscription n'aura point refroidi le désir qu'il témoigne avoir de traiter promptement.

IV.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 10 Mars, 1654.

MONSIEUR,

JE me donnai l'honneur de vous écrire par le dernier ordinaire, que j'avais envoyé au Secrétaire du Conseil copie de mes lettres de créance, sur ce qu'il m'assûrait que Monsieur le Protecteur, après en avoir eu communication, entrerait en conférence. Mais, comme la suscription n'a pas répondu à son attente, le dit secrétaire me manda avant-hier que nous nous verrions aujourd'hui, et qu'il s'expliquerait plus particulièrement sur ce sujet; par son discours, je juge que son Altesse, n'étant pas traitée du titre de *Frère*, n'en voudra point d'autres que celui de Seigneur Protecteur des trois républiques; et il serait bien difficile de lui faire agréer celui de *Monsieur*, après qu'il a prétendu aller de pair avec les rois, et qu'il refuse celui de *Cousin*, non par humilité, mais comme étant au dessous de lui. Je n'insisterai pas beaucoup sur les noms, et si mes raisons ne l'ont pu persuader de traiter auparavant que je prenne la qualité publiquement, je ne crois pas qu'il s'y faille attacher davantage, ni différer de faire la démarche entière, puisque l'on est venu si avant, pour ôter tous les prétextes capables de retarder le traité. . . . .

V.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 12 Mars, 1654.

MONSIEUR,

DEVANT que de recevoir celle que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le sept de ce mois, j'avais réglé avec le Secrétaire du Conseil les suscriptions de la lettre du roi. Il me proposa d'abord d'user des termes de *Seigneur* et *Altesse*; je ne refusai ni l'un ni l'autre, et le fis condescendre à se contenter de *Monsieur*, témoignant que Sa Majesté avait traité M. le Protecteur de *Cousin* comme plus honorable, titre qu'il donne à tous les souverains qui ne prennent point le titre de *Roi*, quoiqu'ils soient revêtus d'une puissance aussi grande. Le Sieur Secrétaire du Conseil me fit ensuite une petite observation sur ce que Sa Majesté me qualifie ambassadeur, sans

désigner ni le lieu, ni la personne auprès de qui je dois servir; et même me dit que ma première lettre de créance au Parlement me donnant qualité d'ambassadeur de Savoie, on pourrait prétendre que celle-ci lui serait relative, et ne me donnerait aucun titre en Angleterre. Je tâchai de lui lever tous ces scrupules et défiances, et après qu'il m'eût ôté toute espérance que son Altesse voulût entrer en traité, devant que j'eusse pris publiquement qualité d'ambassadeur, je demeurai d'accord de lui envoyer le lendemain copie de mes lettres et de demander audience, à quoi je satisfis dès hier; et je viens de recevoir pour reponse qu'il fallait passer par les formes, afin que ma qualité fût publique. C'est-à-dire que l'on m'enverra recevoir à Greenwich avec les berges de l'Etat, qui me conduiront jusques à la Tour, où les carrosses de M. le Protecteur se trouveront, et, comme les ambassadeurs de Hollande doivent passer devant et être traités quelques jours par l'Etat, suivant les apparences, ma cérémonie ne se pourra faire de sept ou huit jours. J'aurais été bien aise de trouver quelque ajustement pour gagner temps, et aussi pour donner loisir à mon equipage d'arriver, reconnaissant que l'on est bien aise de voir ici un peu d'éclat. . . . .

VI.—CARDINAL MAZARIN TO THE BARON DE BAAS.

Paris, le 27 Mars, 1654.

Comme nous avons eu avis de divers endroits depuis douze heures que les Espagnols offrent à M. le Protecteur une assistance en argent pour le faire déclarer contre nous, si M. l'Ambassadeur et vous jugez que pour disposer d'autant plus facilement S. A. à rompre avec les Espagnols, il fût nécessaire de lui faire une offre de cette nature, en ce cas, le roi trouve bon que vous lui offriez de sa part trois, voire quatre cent mille écus par an, c'est-à-dire jusques à douze cent mille livres de notre monnaie, payables en deux termes, à Paris ou à Calais, au choix de sa dite A., et à telle personne et en telle manière qu'il désirera, soit en public, soit en secret. Et même si vous reconnaissiez qu'avec cent mille écus de plus ou de moins, l'affaire se pût conclure, je vous dirai que Sa Majesté l'approuvera aussi. Ce sera à M. l'Ambassdeur et à

vous d'aviser aux moyens de présenter cette proposition plus agréable et avec plus de succès. J'espère que peut-être cela ne sera pas nécessaire et que le roi se pourra passer de faire cette dépense, dans le mauvais état où sont les finances; mais si vous en venez jusque là, vous pouvez dire hardiment à M. le Protecteur qu'à la vérité il y a eu des temps où l'abondance a été plus grande dans les coffres du roi, mais aussi qu'elle y a été moindre qu'elle n'est à présent, Dieu merci, et que je lui réponds que la somme qui lui sera promise lui sera payée ponctuellement dans les termes dont on sera convenu; qu'ainsi s'il prend la peine de considérer de quelle façon les Espagnols satisfont à leurs promesses, il reconnaîtra aisément qu'ils ont en perfection le talent de savoir embarquer les gens, mais qu'ils sont aussi en possession de savoir fort peu se souvenir de leur tenir parole, après qu'ils les ont engagés en quelque mauvais pas, croyant qu'alors ils ne peuvent plus leur échapper; témoins le traitement qu'ils ont fait à la maison de Savoie, toutes les fois qu'elle s'est embarrassée avec eux, celui que le Duc de Lorraine en a reçu en dernier lieu, et celui qu'ils font depuis quelque temps au Prince de Condé, à qui ils ont promis tant de millions pour lui faire prendre les armes, et à mesure qu'ils l'ont vu en état de ne leur pouvoir plus être si utile, ils disputent même ce qui lui est nécessaire pour subsister; et enfin tant d'autres exemples dont les histoires sont remplies. Aussi leur méthode n'est jamais de promettre rien par année, mais seulement par mois, dont le premier et quelque fois le second se paient assez bien, le troisième commence à diminuer et puis le reste se réduit à rien. Et en effet je suis bien trompé si l'offre qu'ils font à M. le Protecteur n'est de cette-sorte, c'est-à-dire par mois, au lieu qu'on trouvera qu'avec nous il y a toujours une sûreté tout entière. S.A. n'a qu'à s'informer, s'il lui plaît, si avec cela que les finances ci-devant ont été épuisées, comme chacun sait s'il est dû un sol des subsides que le roi donnait à la couronne de Suède, à la de Hesse à des etats, ni de ce qui avait été promis pour l'armée auxiliaire d'Allemagne.

Il est remis aussi à la prudence de M. l'Ambassadeur et à la vôtre de faire entendre doucement à M. le Protecteur qu'il n'est pas sûr que, venant à rompre avec la France, la couronne

de Suède se joignit si volontiers à ses intérets ; mais au contraire en rompant avec l'Espagne, outre l'infaillibilité des progrès dont je vous ai parlé par mon mémoire, il est très-certain que l'Angleterre, l'Ecosse et l'Irlande en seront ravies comme leur étant plus avantageux à cause du commerce et par une infinité d'autres raisons ; au lieu qu'en rompant avec nous, il ne doit pas douter qu'il y ait beaucoup de gens, dans les royaumes qui sont sous sa protection, qui en murmureront, et ce sont des considérations assez essentielles pour y faire réflexion. Néanmoins il faut bien prendre garde à ne les pas alleguer par forme de menace, mais par forme de raisonnement, comme entrant dans ses intérêts, par une forte passion de les voir unis avec les nôtres, pour le bien commun des deux nations.

Je crois qu'on ne doit pas oublier de répéter bien souvent à M. le Protecteur qu'une fois que cette couronne sera engagée comme elle veut l'être, à contribuer tout ce qui dépendra d'elle pour l'affermissement de sa dignité et de son pouvoir, elle ira sincèrement au devant de toutes les choses qui seront propres pour cela ; et il n'y aura rien qui puisse arriver qui soit capable de le'branler, ou de changer les sentiments à l'ègard de S. A., laquelle doit tenir pour infaillible qu'elle ne rencontrera pas dans les Espagnols cette manière d'agir, qui est tout à fait contre leur style et leurs maximes, en sorte que nonobstant toutes les promesses qu'ils lui auront faites, s'ils voient son autorité s'affaiblir, ils tourneront aussitôt leurs négociations du côté de ceux qui travailleront à sa destruction, croyant qu'alors leur amitié leur sera plus utile que la sienne.

VII.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 23 Avril, 1654.

(Je dois vous éclaircir) du doute que je croyais avoir levé par quelqu'une de mes précédentes touchant la suscription des lettres du Roi à M. le Protecteur. Il a refusé le titre de Cousin, et s'est contenté, dans toutes les deux dépêches, de celui de M. le Protecteur de la République d'Angleterre, Ecosse et Irlande.

Celui de *frère* eût été bien plus agréable.

VIII.—DRAFT OF INSTRUCTIONS TO M. DE BORDEAUX, AMBASSADOR OF THE KING OF FRANCE IN ENGLAND.

Paris, 16 Juillet, 1654.

. . . . . .

Pour venir aux conditions, Sa Majesté voulant de plus en plus faire connaître qu'elle est sincèrement disposée à la conclusion d'un bon accommodement avec M. le Protecteur, et l'intéresser en ce qui le regarde personnellement, et faisant fondement sur ce que le dit S^r^ de Bordeaux mande que les affaires du dit Protecteur sont en si bon état, que les cabales d'Angleterre ne servent qu'à l'affermir, et qu'il n'a rien à craindre des royalistes d'Ecosse (car autrement ce serait une imprudence et un malheur pour nous de prendre ce parti-là, puisque le dit Protecteur venant à tomber, nous nous attirerions toute l'Angleterre pour nous être unis avec lui, et ferions les affaires des Espagnols que l'on considérerait comme ayant été ses ennemis): Sa Majesté, dis-je, en ce cas, non seulement approuve l'offre que le dit S^r^ Bordeaux a faite de 1500 mille livres, par an, qui seront payées dans les termes desquels on conviendra, et dont on commencera de fournir la moitié cette année, mais elle lui donne encore pouvoir de promettre qu'elle donnera pour l'entreprise de Dunkerque, outre les 4000 chevaux que le S^r^ de Baas a offerts, 4000 hommes de pied qui pourront faire une attaque à la dite place, et qu'elle en assiégera quelque autre en même temps, pour y attirer les forces des ennemis et faciliter par ce moyen la prise de Dunkerque; ou si M. le Protecteur l'estime plus à propos, que Sa Majesté tiendra la campagne avec ces deux armées, pour tenir les Espagnols en échec et les empêcher de faire la moindre tentative pour le secours de Dunkerque, lequel étant pris demeurera à M. le Protecteur, sans que le roi y prétende quoique ce soit: et il semble que ce ne sera pas un mauvais commencement et peu avantageux à l'Angleterre et à M. le Protecteur en particulier de lui remettre une place de cette importance; on dit lui remettre parcequ'on ne prévoit aucune difficulté à en faire la conquête, quand même M. le Protecteur ne ferait débarquer pour cela que six mille hommes de pied et n'y emploierait que quinze ou vingt frégates et quelques

petites barques pour l'approcher de la terre et empêcher que la place étant une fois bloqué par mer, il ne pût plus y entrer personne.

Il semblerait fort juste que nous demandassions de l'argent pour faciliter aux Anglais une semblable conquête. Et cependant nous leur en offrons, mais encore un corps de troupe pour les aider à la faire, et d'employer toute notre armée pour tenir cependant en échec celle des ennemis et l'empêcher de secourir la place.

Après cela, on laisse à penser ce qu'on pourra dire de M. le Protecteur, s'il refuse de recevoir 750 mille livres cette année et d'avoir Dunkerque, sans que cela l'empêche de faire en même temps tous les progrès qu'il voudra aux Indes, et de prendre s'il veut les deux flottes qui doivent arriver en Espagne dans le mois d'Août, à quoi le roi prendra part, si le dit Protecteur le désire, et pour cet effet, Sa Majesté fera joindre une escadre de 10 ou 12 vaisseaus aux sienx.

Et quand même il faudrait au delà des dits 1500 mille livres et si le Sieur de Bordeaux voit jour à pouvoir conclure en se relâchant jusqu'à six cent mille écus par an à l'avenir, lesquels seront payés ponctuellement de quatre en quatre mois, le roi lui en donne le pouvoir et même de promettre aussi trois cent mille écus pour cette année-ci, dont les deux tiers seront payés comptant après la signature du traité, et l'autre au premier jour de Décembre prochain. Sa Majesté s'assûre cependant qu'ilm énagera bien ce pouvoir, et qu'il ne l'épuisera qu'en cas de nécessité et qu'il voie de ne pouvoir faire mieux.

On se contentera pour le reste de cette année, en exécutant dès à présent de notre part ce que nous promettrons pour le dessein de Dunkerque, que les Anglais fassent la guerre par mer contre les Espagnols, et nous donnent quelque nombre de frégates, pour aider, soit dans la mer Mediterranée soit ailleurs, à l'exécution de ce que nous pourrions entreprendre contre eux.

Pour les années futures, il faudra convenir du nombre de frégates avec lesquelles ils seront obligés de nous assister, et que lorsqu'on voudra entreprendre quelque chose conjointement par terre, en Espagne ou en Flandre, il sera exécuté à

forces égales et à frais communs, et que les conquêtes seront aussi également partagées ; bien entendu qu'ils soient toujours obligés de nous assister tous les ans du nombre de frégates dont on demeurera d'accord, sans qu'ils puissent rien prétendre pour cela au delà de six cent mille écus, qu'on donne pouvoir au Sieur de Bordeaux de leur offrir.

Au surplus chacune des parties jouira de son côté de ses conquêtes, soit aux Indes où les Anglais en pourront faire autant qu'ils voudront, soit en tous les autres lieux de la domination de l'Espagne où les forces d'un chacun pourront agir ; et l'occupation que l'on donnera ainsi aux Espagnols, de tous côtés, sera un grand avantage pour faciliter le bon succès de ce que les uns et les autres entreprendront.

Si M. le Protecteur veut sans aucun délai conclure un bon accommodement et se disposer à rompre contre les Espagnols, on en sera bien aise, puisque par ce moyen le roi pourra espérer de contraindre ceux qui n'ont point d'autre but que d'entretenir le trouble dans la Chrétienté, à changer de dessein ; Sa Majesté ne pretendant pas néanmoins de traiter en aucune façon avec les Espagnols que conjointement et de concert avec M. le Protecteur, et elle donne pouvoir au dit Sieur Ambassadeur de l'engager à cela, par un des articles du traité qu'il fera.

Mais si M. le Protecteur ne juge pas à propos de se résoudre à rompre contre l'Espagne, nonobstant les grands avantages qu'il peut voir évidemment qu'il retirera de cette rupture, le roi se contentera que l'on fasse le traité qui avait été projetté, par lequel toutes les hostilités cessantes et le commerce entièrement rétabli entre les deux nations, elles vivent à l'avenir dans la même intelligence qu'elles faisaient avant les derniers sujets de plaintes que chacun a cru avoir de son côté. En ce cas, si dans l'évaluation des prises qui ont été faites de part et d'autre, les commissaires trouvent que nous fussions redevables de quelque chose, on consent de le payer ; et si même pour conclure plus promptement ce traité, le Sieur de Bordeaux juge qu'il faille faire un présent en secret au dit Protecteur, directement ou par son ordre à quelqu'un de ceux qui sont dans sa confidence, Sa Majesté lui donne pouvoir de promettre pour cela jusqu'à 50 à 60 mille pistoles,

qui seront payés avec ponctualité après le traité signé ; et comme auquel de ces deux partis que M. le Protecteur se détermine, s'il marche de bon pied et qu'il n'ait pas intention de nous amuser et de couler le temps pour venir cependant à bout des autres desseins qu'il pourrait avoir, il peut conclure avec lui en trois ou quatre jours, ce qui est d'autant plus nécessaire que la saison d'agir à la campagne s'avance fort ; l'intention du roi est que le dit Sieur Bordeaux le presse de lui donner une prompte réponse, lui faisant connaître civilement que s'il se passe dix ou douze jours sans qu'il puisse recevoir une dernière déclaration de ses volontés, Sa Majesté aura sujet de croire qu'il n'en a aucune de se lier avec cette couronne, et que ce n'est que le motif de son intérêt particulier qui l'oblige à différer encore pour quelque temps la rupture contre nous, aux conditions dont il est comme tombé d'accord avec les Espagnols, et qu'il nous entretient cependant de belles paroles et nous fait toujours des propositions plausibles, pour nous empêcher de prendre nos mesures d'ailleurs.

Et en effet pour ne s'amuser d'avantage à un traité dont la négociation ne pourrait avoir aucun effet, si elle n'était entretenue de M. le Protecteur, comme on en sera bientôt éclairci, que pour mettre avec facilité toutes les choses en Angleterre, en Ecosse et au dehors au point qu'il désire, et rompre ensuite à l'improviste contre nous, comme tout le monde assûre que c'est son dessein et son inclination, sa dite Majesté est résolue, si elle voit par les lettres du Sieur de Bordeaux qu'il n'ait pu rien conclure dans le temps marqué ci-dessus, de lui envoyer ordre de s'en revenir, n'étant pas de sa dignité et de la bienséance de continuer les avances qu'elle a faites depuis si longtemps fort inutilement pour une chose qui pouvait et devait être conclue en vingt-quatre heures.

Fait à , ce 16 Juillet, 1654.

APPENDIX VIII.

(Page 86.)

I.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 20 Avril, 1654.

MONSIEUR,

J'ESPÉRAIS par la présente vous faire savoir quelque progrès de ma négociation, après que le Secrétaire du Conseil m'avait mandè que M. le Protecteur a nommé des commissaires pour y travailler, et qu'ils me feraient savoir de leurs nouvelles aujourd'hui. Mais je les attends encore et présentement je ne prevois point d'où peuvent procéder ces remises, si ce n'est qu'ils se veulent instruire de nos affaires. L'on m'assûre toujours de beaucoup d'endroits, et toutes les raisons semblent vouloir, que M. le Protecteur fasse la paix avec tout le monde. Dans sa famille même, il passe pour constant que c'est leur intérêt particulier, leur établissement ne se pouvant faire, tant qu'il y aura des guerres au dehors. Néanmoins il passe pour certain que non seulement l'inclination de M. le Protecteur, mais aussi celle de plusieurs du conseil, et principalement de Lambert, est tout à fait portée à entretenir une guerre, et que celle de la France étant la plus facile à entretenir qu'aucune autre, nous devons appréhender que toutes les forces de cet Etat qui peuvent être envoyées au dehors ne se tournent contre nous, aussitôt que les Ecossais auront été détruits ; que l'on nous amusera et traînera en longueur notre accommodement afin d'éviter que nous n'y puissions envoyer quelque secours, et d'être en état, si les affaires de France vont bien ou celles du présent regime, de prendre un parti assuré ; outre les raisons générales qui sont la défiance que l'on a toujours que Sa Majesté ne donne quelque assistance à la famille royale d'Angleterre, et que les esprits de France sont encore disposés à un soulèvement, s'ils pouvaient être favorisés par une armée étrangère, il semble que cette mauvaise volonté du Sieur Lambert et quelques autres procède d'un intérêt particulier qu'ils ont de se rendre considérables par la guerre, et empêcher l'affaiblissement de leur autorité, aussi bien que la succession dans la présent gouvernement, ce

qui serait assez facile à M. le Protecteur s'il se dégageait de toutes autres affaires. Cette raison, étant plus capable d'obliger son Altesse à rechercher notre amitié qu'à la refuser, ne peut être regardée comme le véritable motif du procédé de cet Etat. Mais on peut considérer pour certain, après l'avis que j'en ai reçu de plusieurs endroits, et le rapport qu'en a fait à M. de Baas l'Irlandais nouvellement arrivé à Londres, que le dit Sieur Lambert est tout-à-fait porté contre notre accommodement; et, comme sa voix est d'un grand poids, il pourrait bien être que Monsieur le Protecteur y déférera en quelque façon, usant de toutes ces remises, pour cependant n'être point traversé dans son établissement par celui dont l'autorité est assez grande dans l'armée, sans lequel difficilement fût-il parvenu à la place qu'il remplit. Le dit Irlandais assûre, qu'ayant entretenu son Altesse de l'état de nos affaires et de la bonne disposition qu'il a reconnue dans la Cour de France d'entretenir une correspondance avec l'Angleterre, elle l'avait renvoyé au dit Sieur Lambert pour l'en informer. . . . .

II.—M. DE BAAS TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Londres, 21 Avril, 1654.

. . . . . J'ai appris par mon correspondant que Maserolle et Barrière ont eu une forte longue conférence avec M. le Protecteur le 16 du mois, et que S. A. leur a donné toutes les paroles positives de secours qu'ils pouvaient demander, mais qu'assûrément il n'y a point de traité signé. L'ambassadeur d'Espagne eut aussi une audience secrète le 17 du mois.

Hier au soir j'eus un entretien fort long avec Patt. Il a vu deux fois M. le Protecteur, qui l'a fort curieusement interrogé sur les affaires de France, et si sa relation est fidèle, il me semble qu'il a répondu avec esprit et judicieusement. Cependant je ne crois pas qu'il ait trouvé en lui les mêmes dispositions qui m'ont paru d'autrefois: non pas qu'il se soit expliqué en rien contre nous, mais il rémarque que M. le Protecteur recevait avec quelque marque de chagrin et d'étonnement tout ce qu'il disait à l'avantage de la France et de nos affaires. Il dit que lui proposant l'amitié de V. E. comme une chose nécessaire à l'établissement de sa maison, et qui

sans doute se contracterait sincèrement de sa part, il en parut un peu touché, et qu'il lui fit avouer qu'il savait ce secret de la bouche propre de V. E., et lui demanda ensuite si les ministres qui étaient ici confirmeraient cela, et s'il me connaissait et comment. A quoi ayant répondu qu'il n'avançait rien dont il ne fit voir les effets, quand S. A. S^me^ voudrait, il lui commanda d'aller voir le Général Major Lambert, ou Milord Henri, son jeune fils le doit mener aujourd'hui, et lui dire exactement toutes les choses qu'il lui avait rapportées, ce qu'il fera, à la réserve de ce qui regarde l'établissement particulier de sa maison. Et sur ce qu'il était en peine de savoir pourquoi M. le Protecteur l'obligeait de lui faire ce rapport, mon opinion fut qu'outre la confiance qu'il est obligé de garder très-exactement avec lui, il voulait peut-être qu'il apprît par un gentilhomme de sa maison, instruit des affaires de France, combien l'entreprise de rompre avec cette couronne était grande et perilleuse, et qu'il peut être diverti d'une guerre qu'il souhaite, soit par la présomption qu'il a d'être le plus grand capitaine de l'Europe, ou par quelque raison secrète, et qui regarde son intérêt particulier, quantité de personnes croyant ici qu'en son âme il est mal satisfait de M. le Protecteur, et qu'il persuade de tout son pouvoir la rupture avec la France, comme le seul moyen par où les affaires de S. A. S^me^ peuvent être renversées, étant le seul de toute l'armée qui est le plus en état de faire un accommodement avec le Roi d'Angleterre.

Ce que je puis juger de toutes les diverses choses qui viennent à ma connoissance, est que M. le Protecteur incline assez à la paix, mais que la plus grande partie des ministres y répugne, les uns par la grande opinion qu'ils ont de leurs forces, les autres parcequ'ils sont gagnés de l'Espagne, et tous ensemble pour être assurément fort peu instruits du véritable état des affaires de France.

III.—EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM M. DE PATT TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Londres, 27 Avril, 1654.

. . . . . Le fils de Cromwell donna à dîner Samedi dernier aux officiers de l'armée que Cromwell voulut que je visse.

Nous employâmes beaucoup de temps à discourir des affaires d'Espagne, de France, et de son Eminence. Je n'ai pas manqué à mon devoir en cette occasion. Il me serait difficile de vous écrire leurs raisonnements et leurs divisions sur ces choses-là. J'espère bientôt de vous les apprendre de bouche. Je trouve (au moins j'ai quelque raison de croire) que le dessein de Cromwell que je les visse est afin de leur faire voir de quelle dangereuse conséquence il serait d'entreprendre une guerre étrangère, car je vois qu'ils sont emportés d'une passion de la faire et d'une espérance d'en venir facilement à bout. Ils veulent secourir leurs frères qui sont tyrannisés en France, voulant dire les Huguenots, et croient qu'il est impossible d'établir une paix stable avec la France, à cause de l'inconstance des ministres, et tant qu'elle sera gouvernée par son Eminence, ou un homme de sa profession, qui sont les piliers du Pape. Ce sont les mêmes termes dont ils se sont servis, et ces Messieurs sont ceux qui ont le Gouvernement d'Angleterre entre les mains.

IV.—LOUIS XIV. TO MM. DE BORDEAUX ET DE BAAS.

Rheims, 17 Juin, 1654.

Messieurs de Bordeaux et de Baas,

J'avais cru que les intentions de M. le Protecteur étaient sincères sur les déclarations qu'il nous a faites plusieurs fois et en dernier lieu plus précises, qu'il ne souhaitait pas seulement un accommodement avec cette couronne, mais même une étroite liaison. Néanmoins voyant que ce ne sont que des paroles, qui ne se réduisent à aucun effet, qu'il traite continuellement avec l'ambassadeur d'Espagne et qu'il ne tient qu'à celui-ci de conclure : que de plus, s'il était aussi bien disposé qu'il dit l'être pour cet accommodement, rien ne l'empêcherait de le faire en vingt-quatre heures, puisque je ne prétends rien qui ne soit aussi avantageux à l'Angleterre qu'il peut être à ce royaume, j'ai sujet et non-seulement de me méfier, mais presque assûré que son but est de nous amuser pour faire tenir les Espagnols à son point, et avoir plus de facilité de perdre ceux qui s'élèvent contre lui en Angleterre, abattre les ennemis en masse, s'autoriser de plus en plus en

Irlande, affermir la paix avec les états de Hollande, s'assûrer en quelque façon du côté de Suède, continuer à envoyer des émissaires en France pour y exciter secrètement les Huguenots, les assûrant d'un puissant secours s'ils veulent prendre les avances, et par ce moyen s'établir puissamment en une suprême autorité dans les trois royaumes, pour se rendre plus que jamais redoutable à ses ennemis et surtout avoir plus de facilité à exécuter le dessein qu'il y a de l'apparence qu'il a pris de longue main, d'envahir cet Etat de concert avec les Espagnols et le Prince de Condé, ou au moins (si ses affaires ne lui permettent pas présentement) continuer de faire la guerre sur mer à mes sujets, sous prétexte de réprésailles, et assister les Espagnols et le Prince de vaisseaux, pour lui aider à faire quelque descente de la Guyenne.

Comme la prudence ne nous permet pas de douter des intentions du dit S^r^ Protecteur, après toutes les avances que vous avez faites de ma part pour établir une parfaite intelligence entre les deux nations, et pour lui faire connaître que vous traitiez sincèrement avec lui comme on ne le peut mettre en doute, à cause de toutes les remises qu'il a faites depuis un an, évitant toujours sous divers prétextes ou artifices de venir à la conclusion, je croirais aussi que ma dignité et mon service seraient blessés et que je ferais grand tort aux intérêts de mes sujets, qui souffrent extraordinairement dans l'incertitude de l'évènement de ce traité, si sous plus de délai le Protecteur ne prenait une bonne résolution. C'est pourquoi j'ai voulu vous ordonner que, si lorsque vous aurez reçu cette lettre, la négociation ne se trouvait avancée en sorte que nous n'eussions plus à douter de son bon succès, vous fassiez entendre de ma part au S^r^ Protecteur, en la manière que vous jugerez le plus à propos, sans faire aucune menace, mais au contraire témoignant un sensible déplaisir de n'avoir pu réussir dans une affaire qui au jugement de tous était fort à la bienséance des deux nations, et qu'après avoir facilité ces choses au point qu'elles sont sues d'un chacun, déclaré un ambassadeur, et s'être presque confirmé à tout ce que le dit S^r^ Protecteur a fait connaître qu'il souhaitait, il serait malséant à ma réputation et désavantageux au bien de mes affaires de continuer à traiter inutilement : vous lui fassiez, dis-je, entendre que je vous ai

commandé de prendre congé de lui et de vous retirer, en cas que dans le terme de huit jours après que vous vous serez expliqués on ne conclue l'accommodement qui peut être arrêté en un, puisque je veux bien que cette affaire soit traitée sans prétendre aucune condition qui ne soit réciproque, et en un mot avec une égalité toute entière, soit pour la recherche à la restitution des prises qui ont été faites de part et d'autre soit pour la manière dont il conviendra de vivre à la mer à l'avenir, soit enfin pour tout ce qui pourra être mis sur le tapis pour cette négociation. Et il n'en sera pas hors de propos que vous fassiez connaître au Protecteur, par l'entremise de ceux qui vous parlent de sa part, que peut-être il ne retirera pas grand avantage de n'avoir pas voulu profiter de mes bonnes dispositions pour un accommodement et pour une étroite liaison, qui auraient produit des avantages tout extraordinaires à l'Angleterre et à sa personne ; et que bien que je prendrai toutes les précautions imaginables pour ne recevoir aucun préjudice des entreprises qui pourraient être faites sur mon Etat par les Anglais joints aux Espagnols, je conserverai toujours autant que je le pourrai l'inclination de rétablir une bonne intelligence avec l'Angleterre, lorsque le Protecteur, détrompé des propositions que les Espagnols peuvent lui avoir faites, se résoudre à vouloir vivre en bonne union avec la France.

Il sera bon, lorsque vous viendrez à prendre cette résolution, que vous informiez le Ministre des Sérénissimes Etats-Généraux des Provinces Unies de tout ce que vous avez fait pour faciliter cet accommodement et des ordres que vous avez reçus de moi de vous retirer après que vous aurez reconnu que l'intention du S[r] Protecteur n'était autre que de nous amuser pour faire ses affaires à nos dépens, et me mettre en état de pouvoir moins résister aux entreprises qu'il pourrait faire contre ce royaume. Il est mal aisé qu'il ne soit très-sensible aux dits ministres, qui ont tant d'intérêt que la France soit en bonne intelligence avec l'Angleterre, que tout aille à être rompu par votre retraite, et qu'ensuite ils n'agissent de toute leur force pour obliger le Protecteur à nous donner satisfaction.

Voilà ce qui est de mon intention ; mais parce que étant

sur les lieux vous pouvez voir de plus près les inconvénients qui pourraient arriver quelque jour, plus tôt ou plus tard, de ce que je vous ordonne, si vous en prévoyez quelqu'un, je trouve bon que vous différiez de parler au Protecteur de la manière que je vous l'ai déclaré ci-dessus, et que vous dépêchiez vers moi pour m'informer des raisons qui vous auraient retenu de le faire. Ensuite de quoi vous attendez le retour de votre courrier, qui vous portera mes dernières volontés. Sur ce je prie Dieu.

V.—ARTICLES OF PEACE AND AMITY TO BE ESTABLISHED BETWEEN THE MOST SERENE LORD PROTECTOR OF ENGLAND, AND THE MOST CHRISTIAN KING OF THE FRENCH.

5 Août, 1654.

I.

La paix, l'amitié et le traité seront stables à l'avenir entre, etc.

II.

Les confédérés se soutiendront, eux et leurs amis communs, contre leurs ennemis communs.

III.

Aucun des confédérés ne gardera ni ne recevra ceux qui se seront rendus coupables de rébellion ou de crime de lèsemajesté envers l'autre ; il les remettra dans l'espace de vingt jours après qu'ils lui auraient été réclamés.

IV.

Afin que justice soit faite quant aux navires enlevés et aux pillages commis de part et d'autre, les sujets de l'une ou de l'autre partie porteront leurs réclamations devant des arbitres qui auront reçu, du susdit Roi et du susdit Protecteur, mandat et pouvoir de connaître et de statuer sur les délits de cette nature qui leur auront été déférés avant le 20 Juillet prochain : ces arbitres devront rendre sentence dans le mois qui suivra la réclamation, et la somme d'argent adjugée à l'une ou à l'autre partie devra être payée dans les trois mois. Dans le cas où les susdits arbitres ne s'entendraient pas entre eux,

ils s'adjoindraient un cinquième arbitre, et la majorité ferait loi.

V.

Il sera mis fin à tous actes d'hostilité : les lettres de marque et de représailles seront révoquées, et il n'en sera plus accordé à l'avenir, à moins que justice n'ait été d'abord demandée et retardée au delà des délais prescrits, ou refusée ouvertement.

VI.

Les commandants de navires, avant de mettre à la voile, donneront caution jusqu'au double de la valeur estimée de leurs navires et de leurs armements, afin d'assurer qu'ils ne troubleront pas le commerce.

VII.

Ceux qui auront fait quelque prise iront devant les juges de l'amirauté, et il sera dressé, selon les formules prescrites, un procès-verbal des marchandises et biens saisis.

VIII.

Si quelques commandants de navires font du tort aux sujets de l'une ou de l'autre partie, contrairement au présent traité, ils dédommageront, s'ils le peuvent, ceux qui auront été lésés : sinon, celui des confédérés dont le délinquant sera sujet donnera satisfaction dans les trois mois à partir de la réclamation faite.

IX.

Ni l'une ni l'autre des parties ne recevra les pirates, ni ne leur donnera libre passage.

X.

Ni le susdit Protecteur ni le susdit Roi ne permettront que les navires pris par les sujets rebelles de l'un ou de l'autre soient vendus, mais ils les feront rendre à leurs légitimes propriétaires, et le roi de France fera même rendre à leurs légitimes propriétaires les navires réfugiés dans ses ports qui prétexteraient d'un laissez-passer donné par quelque étranger, soit par Charles Stuart, fils aîné de Charles Stuart le dernier roi d'Angleterre, soit par la reine sa mère.

XI.

Toute permission de *représailles par terre*, et, nommément, celles qui ont été octroyées par M. de Launay, deviendront vaines et sans force, et il n'en sera plus octroyé de semblables à l'avenir.

XII.

Justice égale sera donnée aux sujets de l'une et de l'autre partie, et les sentences ou conventions déjà faites seront tenues pour valables.

XIII.

Vu que les commandants de Nantes, de Toulon, de Calais, de Brest et d'autres places Françaises, ont coutume de ne pas accorder, aux ordres de leur souverain, l'obéissance qu'ils leur doivent, si les sujets Anglais en reçoivent quelque dommage, celui qui aura été lésé recevra immédiatement satisfaction du confédéré lui-même, sans être renvoyé une seconde fois devant les susdits commandants.

XIV.

Entre ledit Roi et ledit Protecteur, et leurs sujets, le commerce sera libre sur tous les points de l'Europe où sont déjà établies des relations de commerce et d'affaires, et ils pourront tous acheter et vendre, à la seule condition de payer les redevances accoutumées et de se soumettre aux lois et règlements des lieux où ils traiteront.

XV.

* * * * *

XVI.

Les péages des ports et les redevances seront écrits sur des tableaux affichés dans les lieux publics.

XVII.

Dans les villes qui se réclameront de quelque droit particulier ou privilége, les magistrats veilleront à ce que rien ne soit fait ou exigé au delà du droit.

XVIII.

Les sujets d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse, d'Irlande, etc., pourront transporter en France tous ouvrages de laine sans payer à l'avenir un tribut plus élevé qu'en l'année 1652, ni plus qu'il n'est exigé pour les ouvrages de laine Français.

XIX.

Les ouvrages de laine importés par des Anglais ne pourront nulle part être confisqués ni vendus à l'encan, sous prétexte qu'ils seraient gâtés ou mal confectionnés, ou au-dessous du poids indiqué ; si de tels faits se présentent et que cette question soit soulevée entre un négociant Anglais et un négociant Français, le prix sera abaissé au-dessous du prix ordinaire en raison du degré d'infériorité reconnue des marchandises.

XX.

Les navires qui seront entrés dans les ports de l'une ou de l'autre nation, poussés par la tempête ou par les divers dangers de la mer, en ressortiront librement, et sans avoir à payer aucun droit de péage.

XXI.

La loi ou le droit d'aubaine ne sera pas revendiqué contre les Anglais. De même, les Français auront pour successeurs leurs légitimes héritiers.

XXII.

Les nationaux et les sujets de ladite République séjournant en France y jouiront du libre exercice de leur religion dans toutes les villes ou auprès des villes marchandes où ils se trouveront en un certain nombre, et ils célébreront librement les cérémonies de leur culte en assemblées publiques ; et les sécurités, libertés et priviléges qui sont accordés aux sujets Français de la religion réformée seront aussi valables pour les sujets de ladite République qui en auront la jouissance et en feront usage, dans l'exercice de leur religion, selon ce qui est dû et réglé par toute loi, statut, édit ou charte établie à ce sujet.

XXIII.

Si la guerre éclate entre les confédérés, un espace de six mois, à dater de la déclaration de guerre, sera accordé pour le transport ou la vente des marchandises ou des biens ; et, comme les dissensions présentes de la France ont interrompu le commerce sur beaucoup de points, les sujets Anglais auront la liberté de faire des affaires même avec ceux qui font opposition au Roi ou qui occupent ou fortifient des places contre lui, et le lord Protecteur pourra traiter avec eux pour régler cette liberté de commerce, à cette seule condition que les négociants Anglais n'introduiront dans ces places aucune des marchandises dites de contrebande qui seront ci-après énoncées.

XXIV.

Chacun des susdits confédérés sera libre de commercer avec tous les royaumes ou Etats qui seront envers lui en état de paix ou de neutralité, lors même qu'il y aurait hostilité et inimitié entre l'autre des confédérés et lesdits royaumes ou Etats, à la condition de n'y introduire aucune des marchandises interdites.

XXV.

Seront réputés marchandises de contrebande et interdits à ce titre tous les instruments de guerre, la poudre, le plomb, etc.

XXVI.

Ne seront réputés tels ni le blé, ni le sel, ni le vin, ni les fruits, ni tous les produits nécessaires à l'alimentation, ni les autres marchandises de semblable nature.

XXVII.

Si quelques marchandises de contrebande sont trouvées sur les navires de l'une ou de l'autre nation, elles seront seules sujettes à être saisies par le fisc, et les autres biens trouvés sur le même navire seront libres et respectés.

XXVIII.

Tous les biens de l'un ou de l'autre des confédérés trouvés sur des navires ennemis, et pareillement tous les biens des

ennemis trouvés sur les navires de l'un ou de l'autre des confédérés, et les navires eux-mêmes de l'un ou de l'autre des confédérés, sur lesquels seraient trouvés quelqu'un de ses ennemis, seront sujets à être saisis par le fisc.

XXIX.

Les navires qui se rendraient à Bordeaux, et pareillement les navires Français, ne seront en aucun cas obligés à déposer leurs canons ni leurs armes.

XXX.

Si ce traité est violé per quelques sujets de l'une ou de l'autre des parties, les coupables seuls en seront responsables, sans que le traité lui-même perde pour ce motif sa force et son autorité.

VI.—ENCLOSURE IN A LETTER FROM M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE, DATED AUGUST 13, 1654; CONTAINING THE NAMES OF THOSE PERSONS WHOSE BANISHMENT FROM FRANCE WAS DEMANDED BY CROMWELL.

Charles, fils du dernier roi d'Angleterre;
Le duc d'York;
Le duc de Glocester;
Tous ceux du privé Conseil:
Lord Gerard;
Lord de Bristol;
Lord Culpeper;
Daniel Oneal;
Lord Inchiquin;
M. d'Ormond;
Ch. Herbert;
Ed. Hyde;

Et tels autres que Son Altesse nommera devant la fin du traité, la Reine n'étant pas du nombre.

—Par une lettre du 15 Août, it fut ordonné à M. de Bordeaux "qu'en cas qu'il soit insisté sur l'éloignement du roi d'Angleterre et autres de sa suite, je ne résolusse pas un article de cette conséquence sans en avoir reçu des ordres exprès."

(De plus, à une lettre du 21 Août est jointe une note en demande de renvoi qui contient 24 noms.)

VII.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 21 Août, 1654.

. . . . . Il m'avait bien depuis, dans une conférence, été fait des propositions d'une ligue offensive, moyennant deux cent mille livres sterling, qui reviennent à près de trois millions de France, sans que cet Etat s'obligeât à nous assister d'aucun vaisseau ; et, sur ce que je leur reprochais que, dans d'autres conférences, il m'avait été offert, moyennant la subvention de deux millions de livres, de tenir vingt vaisseaux dans la mer Méditerranée pour y favoriser nos desseins, ils me dirent que c'étaient seulement des discours qui n'obligeaient point. Ce procédé me confirma que M. le Protecteur n'avait pas si grande envie d'une liaison si étroite et que son principal dessein était de m'amuser. . . . .

VIII.—SECRET INSTRUCTIONS FOR M. DE BORDEAUX.

Paris, le 24 Août, 1654.

Il est aisé à remarquer par les dépêches de M. de Bordeaux que les points les plus importants de sa négociation sont réduits à ce qui concerne la religion, le commerce, et les princes d'Angleterre et les autres Anglais réfugiés en France.

Pour ce qui est de la religion, le Roi ne pourrait ni en conscience, ni avec honneur accorder rien aux Anglais, dans les lieux conquis, en faveur de la protestante, qu'ils n'accordent au moins la même chose en faveur de la catholique ; autrement nous fournirions nous-mêmes des armes pour exterminer notre religion, qui serait une prétention de leur part tout à fait contraire à la raison. Tout ce qu'on pourrait faire à la dernière extrémité pour ne rompre pas sur cet article auquel il y a sujet de croire que les Anglais seront fort obstinés, serait de consentir que, dans les lieux conquis de part et d'autre, il y ait liberté de conscience, et que pour l'exercice public de la religion nous accorderons, aux habitants des pays qui font profession de la protestante et aux étrangers de même religion

qui s'y viendront habituer, les mêmes libertés et priviléges que Sa Majesté accorde à ses sujets dans son royaume : mais il faut nécessairement ajouter à condition que ceux à qui cette liberté sera accordée seront obligés d'en user avec la discrétion et retenue telles que cette nouveauté ne soit point capable d'exciter de sédition ni de trouble parmi les habitants desdits lieux, car il est certain qu'il y a des villes dans les Pays-Bas qui aimeraient mieux souffrir que l'on brûlât leurs maisons que d'y voir l'exercice public d'une autre religion que de la leur : et de cette sorte ce qu'on penserait d'un côté faire pour un bon effet en produirait de l'autre un très-mauvais. A quoi il semble que les Anglais, s'ils ont bonne intention, doivent faire réflexion et se contenter des mêmes conditions dont nous étions convenus avec les Hollandais, lorsque nous avons commencé la guerre contre l'Espagne. Il faudrait bien se souvenir en ce cas d'obliger les Anglais en termes exprès de ne point changer l'état de la religion dans les lieux qui seront conquis par leurs armes, si ce n'est pour y faire l'exercice public de la leur, sans toutefois occuper pour cet effet aucune des églises qui appartiennent aux catholiques et sans pouvoir chasser aucuns religieux ni ecclésiastiques. Et j'estime ce point si important qu'il faut nettement déclarer l'intention du Roi aux Anglais et les faire expliquer en mêmes termes de la leur ; car s'ils prétendaient, au lieu d'une guerre d'Etat contre l'Espagne, d'en faire une de religion contre les Flamands, je ne crois pas que le Roi pût jamais s'y engager, quelque avantage qui lui en pût arriver. D'ailleurs il faut réduire de bonne foi les conditions à celles qui peuvent être accordées et pratiquées de part et d'autre avec honneur sur toutes choses. Je n'estime pas qu'il faille rien accorder aux Anglais, par un traité ni par écrit, en faveur des religionnaires de France, pour ne les lier pas ensemble, de notre propre consentement, par un intérêt si sensible que celui de la religion. Il se faut contenter de les assurer de bouche que le roi traitera toujours fort bien ses sujets de la religion prétendue réformée, et ne souffrira point qu'il soit fait dans son royaume, à leur préjudice, aucune contravention aux édits de participation.

Pour ce qui est du commerce, il faut bien prendre garde que toutes les conditions qui seront accordées soient égales de

part et d'autre, non-seulement pour les paroles, mais pour l'effet.

Quant à l'article des princes d'Angleterre et autres sujets de cette République réfugiés en France, comme d'un côté ce serait une espèce de honte à un souverain de ne pouvoir pas donner retraite et sûreté à des princes malheureux qui sont ses parents, et de ne pouvoir pas seulement exercer les droits d'hospitalité en leur endroit, il faut aussi considérer que, cet article contenant les principaux et plus justes sujets de jalousie des Anglais, il ne serait pas juste que, pour un simple acte d'hospitalité, nous perdissions l'occasion d'avoir l'Angleterre avec la France contre l'Espagne. La prudence veut donc, s'ils se portent à cette union sincèrement, que l'on guérisse leur appréhension et que l'on mette leur esprit en repos sur ce sujet.

Le tempérament le plus honnête qu'on puisse prendre est d'assurer en particulier le Protecteur, de bouche, que, le traité étant résolu et toutes les conditions accordées, l'on trouvera moyen de faire passer le duc d'York, par quelque voie civile, auprès de son frère. Je crois même qu'on pourrait en ce cas ménager, pour ne laisser point de prétexte de plainte et éviter que, si les Anglais envoient ici quelque ambassade, il n'arrivât point de différend entre leurs domestiques et ceux de la maison de la reine d'Angleterre, qu'on assignât quelque ville du royaume à ladite dame reine, par forme d'apanage, où elle se pourrait retirer avec le duc de Glocester, lequel dans son âge plus avancé, où ses desseins pourront donner quelque ombrage, sera renvoyé auprès du roi son frère. Mais pour les autres sujets de la République qui sont de moindre condition et desquels on n'a pas lieu d'avoir la même appréhension, il semble que de quelque nation qu'ils soient, ou Anglais, ou Ecossais, ou Irlandais, on ne doit pas priver Sa Majesté du service qu'elle en peut recevoir dans ses armées, et on se doit contenter des termes de l'article latin qui a été projeté, qui pourvoit suffisamment à la sûreté des uns et des autres, empêchant que ceux à qui l'on donnera retraite dans l'un des Etats entreprennent rien contre l'autre, et qu'en cas de plainte au contraire bien justifiée, on soit obligé de part et d'autre de les faire châtier, de les livrer, ou de les chasser.

Il faut ajouter à tout cela qu'il ne serait pas juste, à toute extrémité, d'accorder aucune condition ni sur le commerce, ni sur la religion, qui ne soit réciproque, c'est-à-dire qu'il n'en soit autant accordé en faveur du roi et de ses sujets que de la République d'Angleterre et de ses sujets. Encore faut-il observer soigneusement que l'égalité, qu'il faut conserver en toute chose, doit être plutôt dans l'effet que dans les paroles, parce qu'il y a des conditions qui paraissent bien égales, mais qui ne le sont pas.

Celle de n'obliger point les vaisseaux de part ni d'autre à débarquer leurs convois est de cette nature, parce que les Anglais n'ont point accoutumé de faire débarquer ceux des nôtres, comme nous ne faisons rien à l'égard des leurs ailleurs qu'en la rivière de Bordeaux, où nous ne pouvons aucunement nous départir de ce qui a été pratiqué de tout temps, sans nous exposer à de très-grands périls, les Bordelais étant naturellement changeants et remuants, et leurs ports étant quelquefois remplis d'un nombre de vaisseaux Anglais capables d'une grande entreprise, pour peu d'assistance qu'ils reçussent de ceux de dedans.

Celle de défendre les représailles sur la terre, et non pas sur la mer, est encore de cette nature, et n'est proposée qu'à dessein de continuer les déprédations que font leurs vaisseaux de guerre, sans que nous puissions en tirer raison, par la saisie que nous pourrons faire de leurs effets en France, qui est une subtilité grossière, à laquelle on aurait doublement tort de se laisser surprendre.

APPENDIX IX.

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M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 12 Octobre, 1654.

. . . . . Je ne doutais pas d'avoir aujourd'hui une conférence, sans l'accident qui arriva le même Vendredi à M. le Protecteur et au secrétaire dans Hyde Parck, où ils s'étaient allés promener tous deux seuls. Le premier avait pris la place de cocher pour mieux reconnaître de jeunes chevaux attelés à son carrosse. Ils n'eurent pas sitôt reconnu le changement

de main qu'ils s'emportèrent, et que le mouvement du carrosse jeta M. le Protecteur sur le timon, puis en terre entre les chevaux qui le traînèrent quelques pas, son soulier étant accroché aux harnais ; et enfin, s'en étant détaché, il demeura sous la longueur du carrosse, sans que les roues l'offensassent. Pendant ce désordre, un pistolet de poche qu'il porte chargé à balle se débanda aussi, sans le blesser, et de tout cet accident il ne lui reste que quelques meurtrissures à l'estomac, qui l'ont obligé de se faire saigner et garder la chambre. Le secrétaire ne courut pas tant de danger ; néanmoins il en reste plus incommodé, s'étant démis le pied en sautant hors du carrosse, et il fallut les ramener tous deux en chaise. . . . .

APPENDIX X.

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M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 21 Décembre, 1654.

. . . . . Il parait que les difficultés qui semblent nous arrêter ne sont pas les seules causes de tant de remises, beaucoup de considérations particulières et domestiques y peuvent contribuer. Mais la plus vraisemblable est l'intérêt qu'a le Protecteur de donner un amusement à ses troupes, et à soi un prétexte d'entretenir une armée. C'est le raisonnement général dont on se sert pour appuyer sa conduite présente à notre endroit ; et quoiqu'on ne le croie pas assez établi ni puissant pour oser entreprendre la guerre, néanmoins je ne vois point que, du côté du Parlement, ses desseins puissent être interrompus, aprés que ce corps lui a remis la disposition de la flotte et de l'enterprise qu'il projetait sans même en demander la communication ; et il ne faut pas prendre fondement sur la réduction des levées, ni sur les délibérations tendantes à la réformation d'une partie de la milice, puisque les députés du corps lui ayant depuis peu été envoyés pour en conférer avec lui, il leur refusa d'y consentir, et déclara que, si l'on n'augmentait les impositions, il donnerait des quartiers aux troupes ; même cette ouverture de réduction a été faite, à ce qu'on prétend, par ceux de sa faction, à dessein de brouiller le Parlement avec l'armée.

APPENDIX XI.

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CROMWELL TO PHILIP IV.

Olivarius Prcïp. Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, etc. . . . . Serenissimo Potentissimoque Regi Philippo 4° Regi Hispaniarum, etc., Salutem.

Serenissime Potentissimfque Rex,

Quandoquidem navigationis et commercii hujus reïpublicæ populorumque ejus securitati et tuteliæ, classem navium bellicarum in mare Mediterraneum mittere necessarium duximus, visum est nobis Majestatem Vestram hâc de re certiorem facere ; nos que id de animo minime fecisse, quo ullis e confederatis et amicis nostris (in quorum numero M^em. Vestram habemus) quantamcunque molestiam exhibeamus. Verum e contra generali nostro Roberto Blake, quem classi præfecimus, firmiter în mandatis dedimus uti cum omnî gratiâ et benevolentiâ erga eos sese gerat. De reciproco vestro in nos favore nihilo secius dubitantes, ita ut quotiescumque classis nostra portus et stationes vestras appulerit, coemendi commeatus aliâve necessariâ causâ, ea bonis omnibus officiis excipiatur. Quod M^em. Vestram his nostris litteris rogamus, quodque præfecti generali nostro quotiescumque Mem. Vestram vel præfectos vestros et ministros locorum, quos adire necessum habeat, compellandi vel per nuncios, aut litteras alloquendi occasio erit, plenariam fidem adhibere velitis. Deus Opt. et Max. M^em. Vestram sospitet et tueatur,

Vester bonus amicus,

Olivarius P.

Dab. ex. albâ aulâ Westmonasterii,
quinto die Augusti, Styl. Vet., An. 1654.

APPENDIX XII.

(Page 190.)

M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 26 Octobre, 1654.

Le Parlement ne donne point sujet de rien écrire. Il s'est occupé toute la semaine passée à des affaires de peu de conséquence. Seulement l'article de la succession à la charge de Protecteur a été mis sur le tapis. Les enfants de son Altesse, son beau-frère, son gendre, et le major-général Lambert furent proposés, mais avant que l'on vint aux avis, un membre ayant requis, pour l'intérêt de la ville, qu'on délibérât sur les moyens d'avoir de l'huile de baleine, il ne se parla plus de la succession ; même l'on veut que cette question ne s'agitera pas de plusieurs jours crainte qu'elle ne soit décidée au préjudice de la famille de Monsieur le Protecteur, le corps se remplissant tous les jours des députés peu affectionnés à ses intérêts, et d'ailleurs l'armée n'étant point toute d'un même esprit sur ce sujet. Pour capter la bienveillance des soldats, leur paye a été depuis peu augmentée : les officiers des troupes nouvellement levées pour être embarqués, ont aussi reçu de l'argent et l'on veut que le départ de cette flotte s'approche ; celle de Blake s'est remise en mer pour le détroit, et il est échappé à une personne assez bien avec ce gouvernement, qu'il le nous ferait payer et vengerait les injures que l'Angleterre a reçues dans la mer Méditerranée, de nos armateurs. Ce peuvent être des menaces, mais néanmoins il est bon que nos vaisseaux ne tombent pas entre leurs mains. La voix publique a fait tous ces jours Monsieur le Protecteur fort malade, quoiqu'en effet il ne lui reste présentement qu'une ouverture dans le gras de la jambe.

II.—DELIBERATION OF THE SPANISH COUNCIL OF STATE ON THE LETTER OF THE COUNT DE MOLINA, ANNOUNCING THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH FLEET AT ROTA.

Madrid, November 20, 1654.

The Council was attended by the Marquis de Leganes. the Duke de San Lucar, and the Counts de Peñaranda and d'Oñate. In the margin is written, in the King's hand:—"Let the opinion of the Council be acted upon."

SIRE,

THE Count de Molina, governor of Cadiz, writes in his letter of the 15th of this month, addressed to Don Fernando de Fonseca Ruiz de Contreras, that on the 9th of this month an English fleet, consisting of twenty-five ships of war, under the command of Robert Blake, had cast anchor within sight of Rota; that the count, having sent some one to visit the commandant, informed him by writing that he would permit him to enter the roadstead; but although he gave him permission to enter, and offered him a friendly reception, the commandant did not enter. . . . . He replied, that in order to fulfil the Protector's orders, he was obliged to proceed to the Mediterranean; and, in fact, taking advantage of the wind, he set sail, to go in search, it was said, of the French fleet. The English Chargé d'Affaires in that town (Cadiz) having learned that nine French ships of war had passed the Straits four days previously, had sent a messenger to inform the commandant.

Under these circumstances, the Count de Molina transmitted the enclosed letter to your Majesty; it is from the Protector,* who begs your Majesty that the English may be received hospitably in your Majesty's ports and other possessions.

The Council of State, having taken all these things into consideration, in obedience to your Majesty's orders, are of opinion that thanks should be given to the Count de Molina for the information he has furnished of the arrival of the English fleet, but have no further proposition to make to your Majesty on this subject.

* See Appendix XI.

As to the subjoined letter from the Protector to your Majesty, the council dwelt for a moment on the form of courtesy which is used above the signature, and which is somewhat strange; but even though admitting that the present state of affairs requires that we should dissemble our thoughts on this matter, the only thing which appears fitting to the council is not to reply at once to this letter, but rather to write to Don Alonzo de Cardeñas under some other pretext, informing him at the same time that orders have been sent to our sea-ports that a hospitable reception should be given to the English fleet, and that the fleet had arrived.

Your Majesty will order what you may think fit.

APPENDIX XIII.

(Page 196.)

LE CARDINAL MAZARIN TO M. DE BORDEAUX.

Paris, le 2 Janvier, 1655.

MONSIEUR,

J'AI reçu vos dépêches du 21 et du 24 Décembre, et vu tout ce qu'elles contiennent. Premièrement je me remets à l'accoutumée à celles de M. le Comte de Brienne qui vous informeront plus particulièrement des intentions de S. M. sur les points essentiels et sur la conduite que vous devez tenir, et je vous dirai ensuite qu'en attendant que vous receviez des ordres plus précis du roi touchant votre retour, vous devez préparer tout ce que vous savez de plus capable de toucher et de faire impression pour exagérer la patience qu'un grand roi comme S. M. a eue de souffrir tant de mauvais traitements depuis un si longtemps sans se rebuter ni omettre aucune sorte d'avance auprès du Protecteur pour établir une bonne intelligence entre les deux royaumes, afin qu'en vous retirant vous puissiez en informer le Parlement et le public; et il me semble que vous ne devez pas oublier en cette occasion la courtoisie avec laquelle M. de Guise dans la mer Méditerranée et le commandeur de Neufchaize dans l'océan ont renvoyé, chacun de leur côté, les vaisseaux Anglais qui leur étaient tombés entre les mains ainsi qu'on a fait encore en beaucoup d'autres rencontres; tandis que les vaisseaux Anglais con-

tinuaient leurs déprédations sur les sujets du roi, et que Blake se vantait haument qu'il allait chercher M. de Guise avec ordre de le combattre partout où il le trouverait.

Je ne suis pas surpris de ce qu'on vous a voulu donner à entendre de la disposition des Espagnols à la paix. On sait assez qu'ils ne manquent pas d'artifices, et il n'est pas malaisé de voir que cette proposition en est un pour nous engager à faire quelque démarche de la quelle ils puissent donner jalousie au Protecteur, et s'en servir comme d'aiguillon pour le hâter d'autant plus de conclure avec eux afin de prévenir par ce moyen l'union des deux couronnes qu'il a toujours considérée comme fatale à sa grandeur. Car je vous réponds que l'ambassadeur d'Espagne n'a non plus de pouvoir que moi de la part du roi son maître de se mêler de la paix, et que les Espagnols sont plus obstinés que jamais à la continuation de la guerre, et puis qu'ils refusent de donner ce pouvoir à l'archiduc et aux ministres qu'ils ont en Flandres, je vous laisse à penser s'ils le donneront à Cardeñas. C'est pourquoi vous vous garderez bien s'il vous plait de donner dans ce piège. Au contraire il semble qu'il ne serait pas mal à propos de faire confidence au Protecteur de cette ouverture, parce que si elle a été faite de concert avec lui, ainsi qu'il pourrait bien être, il verra de plus en plus la bonne foi dont nous usons ; et s'il n'y a point de part, elle ne fera pas dans son esprit une impression trop favorable pour les Espagnols. Néanmoins, comme vous voyez de plus près les choses, étant sur les lieux, il est remis à votre prudence d'en user ainsi que vous aviserez pour le mieux. Mais vous voulez bien que je vous dis que quand le dit ambassadeur agirait à bonne fin, et non pas seulement pour nous surprendre, comme il fait assurément, ce ne serait pas merveille que l'on vous eut confirmé les mêmes propositions depuis la nouvelle de ce qui s'est passé au royaume de Naples ; car si cette entreprise se peut appeler disgrace, c'est seulement pour avoir eu quarante jours de vents contraires qui nous ont empêché d'arriver aux lieux où nous pouvions faire des progrès ; puisqu'au reste chacun sait que le seul bruit de cette entreprise est cause que de toute la campagne les Espagnols n'eut peu tirer un seul homme, ni argent, ni blé du dit royaume, pour envoyer à l'accoutumée en Catalogne, en le Milanais, en

Flandres et ailleurs, ce qui n'est pas le moindre avantage que nous nous eussions proposé.

Je vous ai déjà mandé que la caution proposée par l'officier Ecossais, pour sureté du prix de sa levée, n'etait pas suffisante, et que s'il en pouvait donner quelque autre, vous n'auriez qu'à conclure aussitôt. Je vous confirme la même chose, et l'on considère bien qu'en cas de rupture de l'Angleterre avec nous, ces gens-là ne nous seraient peutêtre pas inutiles dans leur pays ; mais en ce cas là, si le bien de son service le requérait, le roi pourrait aisément y en renvoyer d'autres plus aguerris et les faire soutenir par des forces bien plus considérables.

APPENDIX XIV

(Page 203.)

DON ALONZO DE CARDEÑAS TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

Londres, 28 Janvier, 1655.

SIRE,

DANS la lettre du 4 Novembre qui est une réponse aux lettres adressées par moi à Don Luis de Haro, votre Majesté me fait dire qu'après avoir réfléchi sur toutes ces dépêches ainsi que sur les dépêches antérieures écrites par moi depuis la mort du résident Anglais Ascham, on y voit peu de conséquence, et que cela vient de ce que je n'ai pas de bons renseignements ; que V. M. ayant été la première à reconnaître la république d'Angleterre et à désigner un Ambassadeur auprès d'elle au milieu de ses bouleversements, il est surprenant que les Hollandais, les Suédois, les Danois, et les Portugais aient conclu des traités de paix avec l'Angleterre, que les Français soient sur le point de s'arranger avec elle, et qu'il n'y ait que les intérêts de V. M. qui n'aient reçu aucune satisfaction, bien qu'ils fassent les premiers l'objet des négociations et bien que la première négociation ne fût qu'un simple renouvellement de la paix existante entre les Etats de V. M. et cette république. V. M. me dit que si, après que le Protecteur fut proclamé, on m'envoya des instructions à l'effet de conclure avec lui une alliance contre la France, ce fut d'après mon propre avis et sur mes propres instances ; que c'était par la première raison

qu'on avait fait tant de frais, plus que nécessaires, de courtoisie et de prévenances envers le Protecteur et envers cette république, quoique j'aie ensuite, dans mes dernières lettres, désapprouvé tout cela comme un procédé préjudiciable et employé fort mal à propos dans les négociations avec les Anglais.

Comme je crois de mon devoir de répondre à tous ces points, je me vois obligé, en premier lieu, de faire observer à V. M. que si mes lettres n'ont pas eu de conséquence, non seulement cela pouvait facilement arriver dans un gouvernement aussi irrégulier et aussi agité comme celui de l'Angleterre, mais cela devait nécessairement arriver, car mes avis changeaient selon les évènements si nombreux et si variés qui ont eu lieu ici. Tout ce que je m'effoçais d'atteindre, c'était que mes renseignemants fussent exacts au moment où je les transmettais, et ils ne l'auraient pas été s'ils avaient eu quelque suite. Toutefois reconnaissant qu'ils ne pouvaient pas l'être, j'ai appelé aussitôt l'attention de V. M. sur cette circonstance dans les différentes dépêches adressées au sujet de ces changements.

D'ailleurs tous les avis que je fournissais à V. M. étaient regardés comme certains par tout le monde ici ; le dessein sur les Indes a été le seul qu'on n'ait pas pu deviner, attendu que le Protecteur l'avait soigneusement caché à ceux de qui je pouvais l'apprendre, persuadé qui le secret faciliterait l'exécution du projet, qu'il tiendrait en suspens tous les Princes et inspirerait au Parlement des craintes qui l'empêcheraient de prendre des résolutions que le Protecteur pouvait redouter. Mais comme il était nécessaire de s'appuyer sur certaines présomptions pour deviner ce dessein, j'ai cru devoir les exposer toutes à V. M. en rendant compte des opinions qui se produisaient au sujet de cette expédition.

Quant à ce que V. M. dit qu'elle a été le premier souverain qui ait reconnu cette république et désigné auprès d'elle un ambassadeur, que cette république a fait la paix avec plusieurs princes et états et que les intérêts de V. M. seuls n'ont pas reçu de solution, je dois faire observer à V. M. que pendant deux ans depuis la mort du Roi Charles je ne pouvais pas traiter avec le Parlement, que je n'avais accès auprès d'aucun des ministres du Parlement, que je me trouvais sans lettres de

créance, supportant tous les désagréments qu'on me faisait subir, que je demandais à V. M. de me les envoyer ou de m'ordonner de m'éloigner d'ici, attendu que je ne pourrais pas rester à cette cour sans reconnaître la république. C'est ce que j'ai exposé à V. M. dans presque toutes mes dépêches d'alors. V. M. daigna me faire parvenir mes lettres de créance auprès du Parlement en laissant à ma discrétion de m'en servir, ou bien dans le cas où je ne m'en servirais pas, de quitter Londres comme V. M. m'ordonnait dans ce cas. Il me parut nécessaire, par les raisons exposées dans ma dépêche du 23 Janvier 1651, de reconnaître la république, et de cette démarche il est résulté des avantages dont parle la même dépêche ainsi que d'autres qui l'ensuivirent plus tard.

Me trouvant nanti d'une autorisation pour négocier avec le Parlement, j'ai reçu de V. M. l'ordre d'aborder le renouvellement du traité de paix ; c'est ce que j'ai fait malgré une vive opposition des Presbytériens qui, prenant pour prétexte le meurtre du résident Ascham, voulaient empêcher la république de traiter avec moi avant que les prévenus de l'assassinat ne fussent punis. Le Parlement se montra très lent dans cette négociation, désirant qu'avant de la conclure on lui donnât satisfaction sur ce point. Cependant la négociation était déjà bien avancé avec les commissaires du Parlement d'alors, car il ne s'agissait plus que des points auxquels je ne pouvais consentir et qui étaient celui du commerce des Indes, celui de l'inquisition et celui du paiement inégal des droits entre les sujets Anglais et les sujets de V. M. ; quoi que sur ce troisième point on eut pu trouver un terme d'accommodement que les Anglais étaient disposés à accepter et auquel je pouvais consentir si tels avaient été les ordres de V. M. En Avril 1651 eut lieu la dissolution du Parlement et le général Cromwell créa un nouveau conseil d'état composé d'hommes jouissant de sa confiance, plus favorables aux Hollandais et jaloux de mettre fin à une guerre qui coûtait déjà tant à l'Angleterre et qui causait tant d'embarras à Cromwell. Celui-ci, s'etant élevé au Gouvernement de la république avec le titre de Protecteur, pressa l'arrangement avec la Hollande et conclut un traité de paix qui, toutefois, est si embrouillé qu'il n'y a presque personne qui y comprenne

quelque chose, en sorte qu'il s'élève chaque jour des difficultés sur la manière dont on doit l'entendre, et on croit que les explications qu'on donne de ses articles ne suffiront pas pour déterminer avec précision le sens du traité. En outre c'est un traité de paix qui a causé un si grand des accord entre les sept provinces qu'on ne croit pas qu'excepté la Hollande les autres l'acceptent ; car les autres provinces prétendent qu'en le ratifiant on a commis une supercherie, attendu qu'on ne leur avait pas fait part de l'article secret pour l'exclusion du Prince d'Orange, article auquel elles ne veulent pas consentir.

Le paix avec le Danemark a dépendu de la Hollande, et a été en quelque sorte un appendice de la paix avec celle-ci ; les Hollandais ayant déclaré qu'ils ne pouvaient pas sans cela faire la paix avec la République d'Angleterre, car ils s'étaient engagés à cela avec le Roi de Danemark.

Quant à la paix avec la Suède, la république avait cherché à la conclure promptement pour assurer le commerce de la mer Baltique, dans la crainte que la Reine de Suède ne s'entendit avec le Danemark et n'entravat ce commerce comme effectivement ce royaume y travaillait.

La paix avec le Portugal avait été conclue à l'époque du premier Parlement, mais comme les Portugais n'avaient pas payé certaines sommes qui, selon l'Angleterre et les négociants Anglais, devaient être acquittées avant la conclusion définitive de l'arrangement, la paix fût rompue, et Juan de Guimaraez, ambassadeur du tyran de Portugal, retourna à Lisbonne. Depuis, il se décida à envoyer à Londres le Compte de Peñaguiona pour reprendre les négociations ; et comme les hommes du Gouvernement actuel (d'Angleterre) tenaient beaucoup à recouvrer les sommes dues et attachaient beaucoup de prix aux conditions avantageuses que les Portugais leur offraient dans le commerce, la paix a été conclu et signée de la manière dont j'ai rendu compte dans le temps à V. M. La promulgation de ce traité ne doit avoir lieu que lorsqu'il sera ratifié par le Portugal, et lorsque les sommes que l'Angleterre réclame auront été payées. Quoique les six mois fixés dans la convention pour la ratification et le payement aient été écoulés le 22 de ce mois, on n'entend pas parler que

l'une ou l'autre aient eu lieu ; au contraire, on assure que, parmi les conditions de la convention, il s'en trouve une qui dit que les vingt-six pour cent payés lors de la rébellion seront réduits à vingt-trois pour cent, et que les Portugais ne veulent pas y souscrire, mais demandent tout à raison de vingt-six ; tout cela indépendamment de l'article de la nouvelle convention dont on se montre ici peu satisfait. Si par les prochaines lettres on n'apprend pas la ratification et le payement, le traité sera rompu et les choses redeviendront ce qu'elles étaient auparavant.

Il n'est pas étonnant que les Anglais cherchent à conclure le paix avec la France, puisqu'ils espèrent en tirer tant d'argent ; mais quoiqu'il y ait déjà quelque temps qu'on la dise conclue, jusqu'à présent elle ne l'est pas, et je ne néglige rien pour la faire manquer à l'aide de mes amis.

Quant à la paix à conclure avec V. M., on en a parlé plusieurs fois dans le Conseil. J'ai entendu dire que le Protecteur disait qu'il y avait guerre avec la Hollande et avec le Danemark ; qu'avec le Portugal et avec la France il n'y avait pas de paix ; mais que comme il existait une paix avec V. M., le retard (apporté au renouvellement de cette paix) importait peu. Le retard provient, dit-il, de ce que je ne veux pas consentir à ce que l'Angleterre demande ; difficulté telle que, si elle avait existé dans les traités de paix dont il vient d'être parlé plus haut, ils n'auraient jamais été conclus ; comme elle existe maintenant qu'il s'agit (seulement) de renouveler la paix avec V. M., il n'est pas surprenant que la conclusion en soit retardée, puisque je ne peux pas souscrire aux deux points que les Anglais demandent, savoir celui qui touche aux Indes et celui de l'Inquisition, V. M. me l'ayant défendu. Le retard est d'autant moins surprenant que la négociation a été suspendue par suite de l'ouverture des négociations secrètes relatives à l'alliance de V. M. avec la république d'Angleterre, dans le but de lui faire rompre ses relations avec la France, négociations qui étaient déjà assez avancées. Comme les moyens prompts qu'on avait offerts (à l'Angleterre) ne se sont pas trouvés en Flandre, et que d'un autre côté la république (d'Angleterre) n'était pas assez disposée à remplir ses engagements, les négociations et la conclusion du traité ont été

suspendus ; or, tant pour ce traité (contre la France) que pour le renouvellement de l'ancien traité de paix, j'avais sans cesse prié V. M. de me faire envoyer des instructions qui pussent me servir de gouverne. De tout cela il résulte que ce n'est pas sur mes instances que ces négociations ont été entamées, mais que V. M. m'ayant ordonné, dans différentes dépêches, de frayer la voie à un traité d'alliance, j'ai dû demander des instructions, afin de pouvoir mieux y réussir.

En présentant à V. M. un aperçu du caractére des Anglais, je n'avais aucune intention de désapprouver ce qui s'était fait avec eux, ou de trouver mauvais qu'on leur ait fait des cajoleries et des avances ; c'était parce que je croyais nécessaire que V. M. se rendît bien compte du caractère de ce peuple afin de pouvoir y accommoder la manière dont on traiterait avec lui, dès que les circonstances en Espagne le permettraient. Quoique le caractère de ce peuple soit, en effet, tel que je l'ai dépeint dans ladite dépêche, je ne trouve pas pour cela qu'on ait agi mal à propos en cherchant à l'amadouer lorsque l'état de nos affaires et les circonstances d'alors l'exigeaient. Cette manière d'agir est souvent la plus convenable, et il arrive qu'un prince agit d'après sa convenance dens un cas d'une manière, et d'une autre manière dans un autre cas. C'est ainsi que, dans la manière dont on a traité avec les Anglais, on a plutôt tenu compte de nos besoins que du caractère de ce peuple, et cependant il m'a paru nécessaire d'informer V. M. de tout, comme je l'ai fait. Si mes dépêches sont susceptibles d'être interprétées dans un sens différent, le mien a été celui que je viens de dire, et la différence provient de ce que je n'ai pas réussi à m'expliquer clairement.

Quant au dernier point de la dépêche de V. M., dans lequel V. M. trouve étrange que je demande un congé pour retourner en Espagne après quatre ans (encore que V. M. n'ait pas daigné me l'accorder), et après les dix-huit années de mon séjour dans ce pays, ce que je puis dire à cette occasion, c'est que mon intention n'était pas de quitter ce pays avant le printemps ; j'ai pensé qu'à cette époque on connaîtrait déjà l'issue de le paix à conclure avec la France, et le sort du Parlement actuel, ainsi que la situation dans laquelle se

trouverait le Protecteur ; car alors, s'il ne voulait ou ne pouvait s'allier avec V. M. pour rompre avec la France, et s'il s'obstinait à ne pas vouloir renouveler le traité, à moins qu'on ne lui accordât les points relatifs aux Indes et à l'Inquisition, je ne vois pas quelle utilité il y aurait à ce que je restasse ici ; au contraire, je crois qu'il y en aurait à me faire quitter ce pays, car si la flotte qui s'est rendue aux Indes attaquait quelque point des possessions de V. M., ce serait un grand déshonneur de solliciter la paix ou de conserver un ambassadeur dans un Etat dont le chef aurait agi avec tant de perfidie, et en manquant à tant d'obligations contractées envers V. M. Et d'ailleurs, la tristesse et la mauvaise santé m'obligent de prier humblement V. M., comme je le fais, de me décharger des fonctions que je remplis, par les raisons que je viens d'exposer ; je désire les plus grands succès possibles dans le service du roi, et c'est le seul but que j'aie en vue dans tout ce que je propose à Votre Majesté, dont Dieu veuille garder la très-catholique et royale personne.

[Ci-incluse est une lettre antérieure du même Don Alonzo à Don Geronimo de la Torre, datée de Londres du 28 Janvier, 1655, et dans laquelle se trouve ce passage :—]

. . . . . On s'attend ici à des changements par suite du désaccord entre le Parlement et le Protecteur ; d'où beaucoup de personnes concluent que le Parlement n'achèvera pas son temps, bien qu'il ne lui manque plus que seize jours ; on croit que le Protecteur le dissoudra auparavant, à cause des restrictions et des limites dont le Parlement veut entourer son autorité. Le Protecteur n'a donc d'autre ressource que le dissoudre le Parlement avant que celui-ci fasse passer dans un acte les résolutions qu'il a prises sur la formation du gouvernement, et avant qu'il le promulgue. Si le Protecteur dissout le Parlement, cette mesure sera mal reçue par le peuple et ne fera qu'accroître la haine qu'on lui porte déjà généralement. Que Dieu garde, etc., etc.

APPENDIX XV.

(Page 206.)

I.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 19 Octobre, 1654.

. . . . Il reste à décider: premièrement, si Monsieur le Protecteur, dans l'instrument qui lui demeurera, se nommera devant le Roi. Lesdits commissaires se fondent sur l'exemple des traités faits avec la Suède, le Danemark et le Portugal, et le déshonneur que recevrait leur nation, s'il en était usé autrement. Et, nonobstant les raisons et différences d'entre le Roi de France et les autres princes dont j'aie pu me servir, ils sont demeurés fermes sur cette prétention, et je vois peu d'apparence pour les faire relâcher, ni d'autre expédient pour lever cette difficulté que de ne pas signer l'instrument qui me sera donné ; aussi en voudront-ils user de même à l'égard du mien. . . . . .

. . . . L'article des rebelles fait la dernière difficulté. Ils ne veulent point passer dans les termes généraux, et se réduisent à l'éloignement du Roi d'Angleterre sous le nom de fils aîné du défunt roi, des ducs d'York, de Glocester et des autres dénommés dans le mémoire que j'ai envoyé à la réserve néanmoins d'Inchiquin, Preston et Montague, mais avec des expressions désobligeantes à l'égard du Roi d'Angleterre, et qui pourraient tous les jours exciter quelques nouvelles contestations sur la conduite des Anglais, Ecossais et Irlandais qui servent Sa Majesté et la Reine d'Angleterre. Après une longue contestation, je suis demeuré d'accord de l'éloignement des deux premiers du troisième dans dix ans, et de concevoir l'article en ces termes que, pour faire cesser tous les sujets de soupçon d'entre la France et l'Angleterre, je promets, au nom de Sa Majesté qu'elle n'admettra point dans son royaume, et qu'elles n'y séjourneront pas quarante jours après la ratification du présent traité, les personnes dénommées dans le catalogue qui sera ajoute audit article ; et qu'il en sera usé de même de la part de cette République, à l'égard des Français dont je donnerai les noms, et qu'encore que ledit article, qui

sera réputé secret, ne soit point inséré au traité fait ce même jour, il ne laissera pas d'avoir autant de force et sera ratifié dans le même temps et en la même manière. Quoique ces termes les dussent satisfaire, ils m'ont encore remis jusques à ce que son altesse en ait eu communication, et ce qui semble les blesser est de ne voir point que cet article fasse partie de l'autre traité. Ils veulent aussi que je déclare présentement les noms de ceux que Sa Majesté ne veut pas souffrir en Angleterre, et généralement le moindre changement de mots forme un grand obstacle . . . . . .

. . . . . Il ne faut pas s'attendre que, quelque révolution qui puisse arriver dans l'Angleterre, à moins du rétablissement du roi, apparemment très-éloigné, l'on puisse rien obtenir (quant aux titre et rang dans le traité) la condition qui paraît la plus rude ayant été prétendue par le vieux Parlement . . . . même depuis que notre traité s'est réduit à une révocation des lettres de représaille, et ne se trouvant pas moins à cœur aux esprits républicains qu'au Protecteur dont l'autorité est combattue par eux seuls, quoi qu'en écrive et qu'en croie l'ambassadeur d'Espagne qui se troemp dans ses conjectures et dont les sentiments sur cette matière m'ont été rapportés assez exactement. Les plus clairvoyants dans les affaires de cet Etat veulent qu'elle ne sera pas guères moindre qu'était celle des rois, qu'il aura de plus la disposition d'une armée et d'une flotte considérables, et que, sans l'aliénation de l'une et de l'autre, ni les Presbytériens, ni le Parlement ne seraient pas capables de l'ébranler. Ce dernier lui a bien lié les mains pour, les levées d'argent qui n'étaient pas aussi permises au roi, et parle de réformer l'armée. Même quelques commissaires du corps ont entré en conférence avec M. le Protecteur. Elle n'a produit que la réduction du nombre des régiments, dont les soldats doivent être incorporés dans les autres, et l'on prétend qu'il l'a désirée pour avoir prétexte de casser quelques colonels qui ont paru depuis peu fort contraires à son gouvernement. Ce n'est pas que je le voulusse garantir si bien établi que quelque changement ne puisse arriver ; mais il y a beaucoup plus d'apparence à sa conservation qu'à sa ruine ; et comme cette dernière ne rétablirait par le Roi d'Angleterre, et qu'un traité de simple alliance, auquel nous

parviendrions dans un changement, ne nous serait guères plus avantageux que celui qui m'est proposé, principalement s'il est ratifié par le Parlement, de quoi mes commissaires sont convenus, ma pensée serait d'en presser la fin, les remises ne pouvant que continuer l'interruption du commerce. Ainsi, Monsieur, je ne puis encore être touché d'aucun remords de ma conduite passée ; et, même après avoir examiné toutes les lettres qu'il vous a plu de m'écrire, je n'en trouve aucune jusqu'à huit jours devant le Parlement, qui ne m'ait prescrit de presser M. le Protecteur à une dernière résolution ; et lorsque la veille de sa séance les commissaires du conseil m'apportèrent son acquiescement à l'arbitrage de Hambourg et me proposèrent la signature du traité, je leur donnai des articles en des termes que je croyais devoir éloigner, afin que je pusse cependant savoir encore plus précisément les intentions du roi sur l'article des rebelles qui seul pourrait recevoir difficulté. J'ai reussi dans ce dessein puisque, jusques à ce jour, il ne m'a été donné aucune réponse, et que, si les affaires du dedans de l'Angleterre eussent changé de face, je serais en état de changer aussi de proposition. Mais je me trouve encore persuadé que la conjoncture n'y est pas favorable ; et néanmoins je ne suis pas attaché d'inclination à ce gouvernement et assez informé des différents intérêts de tous ceux qui me voient pour savoir balancer les avis. Je pourrais même dire que l'on a de la peine à trouver dans l'Angleterre un homme qui souhaite grand bien à Monsieur le Protecteur parce qu'il n'en fait à personne, et les résolutions du Parlement sont si publiques que l'on ne les saurait ignorer, surtout quand elles lui sont désavantageuses . . . . .

II.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 9 Novembre, 1654.

. . . . L'UN des commissaires me fit dire que Monsieur le Protecteur n'en userait pas autrement avec la France qu'avec les autres couronnes, et que traitant au nom de la république, quoique son titre ne fût pas si relevé que celui du roi, il ne laissait pas d'être obligé pour maintenir l'honneur de la nation, de prendre le même rang et les mêmes prérogatives dont elle

a joui dans les précédents traités. Cette prétention, quoique injuste, ne surprendra pas, si l'on considère qu'il écrit et traité le Parlement d'Angleterre comme faisaient les rois, et se fait reconnaître pour chef de la république.

III.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 23 Novembre, 1654.

. . . . ENCORE que l'accommodement paraisse arrêté par la difficulté de l'article secret, je crois néanmoins que l'on ne me laisserait pas aller si tout le reste était accordé, le peuple ni le Parlement ne prenant aucun intérêt à faire sortir la famille royale de France; et même, si cette question se traitait par les suffrages du pays, je crois que nous serions priés de lui donner retraite.

IV.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 29 Novembre, 1654.

. . . . . JE crois que tout ces discours et ce procédé ne tend qu'à gagner temps, et qu'ils ont leur principale réflexion sur les délibérations qui se prennent au Parlement, touchant la réduction de la milice à trente mille hommes, et que Monsieur le Protecteur veut se servir du prétexte de notre mésintelligence pour obtenir la solde de cinquante-sept mille, à quoi l'on faisait monter les troupes qui sont maintenant sur pied. S'il agit par ce principe, je ne verrai pas encore de quelques jours la fin de ses remises, nonobstant toutes mes diligences et l'impression que j'ai donnée d'avoir reçu ordre de m'en retourner.

V.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 24 Décembre, 1654.

. . . . APPAREMMENT M. le Protecteur n'aura plus sujet de différer désormais la fin de notre accommodement, puisque nous levons les principales difficultés qui semblent le retarder, par l'acquiescement à la clause de l'article, secret, la soumission aux arbitres généraux, et que S. M. se dispose à prendre quelque tempérament sur le titre dont ni les commissaires ni le secrétaire d'Etat ne parlent point lorsque je les envoie

presser de quelque réponse ; mais l'un d'eux ne put, le lendemain de mon audience, s'empêcher de dire que je ne devrais pas avoir remué cette difficulté, que je ne résoudrai point jusqu'à nouveaux ordres.

VI.—EXTRACT OF A NOTE ADDRESSED TO CARDINAL MAZARIN BY ONE OF HIS SECRET AGENTS, NAMED WHITE.

Londres, 3 Janvier, 1655.

. . . . . Il faut savoir que les pensionnaires de l'ambassade d'Espagne ont enfin tellement persuadé Cromwell de faire une ligne avec la maison d'Autriche, que Cromwell en a donné de grandes espérances à l'ambassadeur d'Espagne, deux ou trois jours avant que M. White fût parti d'Angleterre ; et l'ambassadeur mania l'affaire si secrètement que M. de Barrière n'en sut rien, et il fut résolu de n'en rien dire à lui ni personne qu'il n'en eût vu le succès premièrement. De plus, il faut savoir que le Comte de Montecuculli, quand il fut dernièrement en Angleterre sous prétexte de voir le pays en étant si près, eut ordre de l'empereur de voir Cromwell de sa part et de le persuader à cette ligue. M. le Comte de Montecuculli à autrefois entretenu sur cette affaire, en Suède, le Milord Whitelocke qui y fût l'ambassadeur de la part de Cromwell ; et sur les assurances qu'à données ledit milord, il fût envoyé par l'empereur en Angleterre. Milord Whitelocke est absolument la personne qui a le plus de pouvoir auprès de Cromwell ; il fût voir tous les jours le Comte de Montecuculli, et le comte, après l'avoir vu, visitait incontinent l'ambassadeur d'Espagne. J'ai quelque raison de croire que la Reine de Suède a la main dans cette affaire ; elle donna devant moi une lettre et son ordre à Montecuculli pour les envoyer par son moyen à Milord Whitelocke. M. de Montecuculli m'avait dit à Bruxelles qu'il n'attendait qu'une lettre de l'ambassadeur et de Milord Whitelocke, et qu'il partirait dès aussitôt pour l'Allemagne. Je lui ai donné un grand paquet de lettres que l'ambassadeur et ledit milord lui avaient envoyées. Pour activer ce traité, le Marquis de Leyde doit bientôt être dépêché ambassadeur extraordinaire en Angleterre et Pimentel, capitaine général de la mer. Pour moi, je ne crois pas que Cromwell conclura rien encore ni avec France ni avec

Espagne, mais les amusera, jusqu'à ce que ses propres affaires et son dessein soient établis : Milord Henry Cromwell m'avait autant dit il n'y a pas longtemps

VII.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 4 Janvier, 1655.

. . . . Ayant depuis deux jours entretenu quelques députés du Parlement, ennemis déclarés du Protecteur, touchant les préeminences qu'il prétend avec le roi, et beaucoup d'autres questions qui regardent la première difficulté, je trouve que ce corps prétend qu'il doit traiter en son nom et du Parlement, pendant la séance, et, après la dissolution, en son nom et celui de la république; que c'est à lui et au conseil de recevoir et traiter avec les ambassadeurs, et que les pouvoirs doivent être expédiés en son nom. Encore qu'aucun acte n'ait été fait sur ce sujet ; néanmoins, puisque les députés qui lui sont le plus contraires et qui s'opposaient encore Samedi dernier à la proposition que quelques autres firent de lui donner le titre de roi, sont de ce sentiment, il ne faut pas espérer que ledit Protecteur entre dans aucun expédient qui diminue son rang.

VIII.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 14 Janvier, 1655.

Il serait, Monsieur, superflu de faire une relation de toutes les raisons dont je me servis pour convaincre lesdits commissaires du peu de fondement qu'ils avaient d'insister sur l'égalité d'entre le roi et M. le Protecteur, et de vouloir soumettre à l'arbitrage de Hambourg la validité de nos lois, puisque, soit dans les discours particuliers, soit dans les publics, ils avouent que ni l'un ni l'autre n'est juste ; mais seulement prétendent que le Protecteur, traitant au nom de la république, suivant la forme présente du gouvernement, doit prendre le même rang que ferait le Parlement ou la république, si ces traités se faisaient en leur nom. Et comme ce sont gens peu versés dans la pratique, ou au moins qui l'affectent, ils ne veulent pas concevoir autre différence entre parler au nom du Protecteur et de la république, ou de la république et du Pro-

tecteur, sinon que par la dernière expression ce serait prendre une forme nouvelle et faire perdre au Protecteur la prérogative que le Parlement lui a confirmée, en consentant que le gouvernement des trois républiques soit entre les mains d'un seul comme chef, et des Parlements dans le temps de leurs séances. Ainsi, cette ouverture ne pouvant être acceptée, je leur ai proposé de mettre, au lieu de titre, un discours préliminaire, qui énonce que le roi, désirant rétablir l'intelligence et le commercee ntre la France et l'Angleterre, m'aurait envoyé et donné plein pouvoir de passer à cet effet toutes sortes de traités ; que pour correspondre à cette bonne volonté, le Protecteur de la république aurait commis des commissaires et que nous serions convenus des articles suivants, dans lesquels il est toujours parlé au nom du roi et des sujets de la république d'Angleterre, sans faire mention du Protecteur, si ce n'est au dernier article, où il est dit qu'il nommera des commissaires pour traiter avec moi d'une alliance plus étroite ; et pour les induire d'autant plus à se contenter dudit formulaire, je leur ai assuré que, dans un traité final, Sa Majesté conviendrait de tous les expédients qui pourraient être proposés pour la satisfaction, soit de M. le Protecteur ou de la nation, et même souffrirait l'égalité, si cependant l'Espagne y donnait les mains dans quelque traité, encore que le roi tienne un rang beaucoup plus élevé. Cette ouverture donna lieu auxdits commissaires de me confirmer que l'ambassadeur d'Espagne en était convenu, et sans l'accepter ni la rejeter, suivant la coutume, ils prirent temps pour en conférer avec S. A.

IX.—CARDINAL MAZARIN TO M. DE BORDEAUX.

Paris, 16 Janvier, 1655.

Je me remets à l'accoutumée aux dépêches de M. de Brienne, par lesquelles vous serez informé des intentions du roi. J'ai seulement à vous dire que je suis fort étonné de voir que depuis quelque temps vous affectiez de répéter dans toutes vos lettres que vous serez toujours d'avis de préférer l'accommodement à la rupture, car il semble par là que vous croyez qu'on soit ici d'un sentiment contraire ; et je ne comprends pas sur quoi vous pourriez vous fonder pour avoir cette opinion puisque, si vous relisez bien vos instructions et toutes les

dépêches que vous avez reçues, vous trouverez qu'elles ne tendent à autre but qu'à une bonne paix ; joint que je ne vois pas qu'il y ait personne qui puisse douter non-seulement que nous ne la souhaitions, mais que nous ne la souhaitions même avec grande passion, quand on considérera toutes les avances que nous avons faites au Protecteur, les honneurs que nous lui avons rendus, et les courtoisies que nous avons faites aux Anglais en sa considération, jusqu'à donner de mon propre argent pour faciliter la restitution de leurs vaisseaux pris par le Prince Robert, et d'autre côté la froideur et le mépris dont le Protecteur a usé envers nous, les délais et remises injurieuses dont on vous amuse depuis tant de temps, les dépréda-tions et les hostilités exercées par les Anglais contre les sujets du roi, le droit des gens violé en la personne du sieur De Baas, le passage de Blake dans la Méditerranée pour aller combattre l'armée du roi, ainsi qu'il a publié lui-même à Cadix et dans tous les lieux où il a été, et que, le confirme son voyage dans le golfe de Naples et son retour à Livourne ; et ce dans le même temps que nous lui renvoyions avec toute sorte de civilités des vaisseaux de sa flotte qui étaient tombés entre nos mains ; et enfin l'attaque et la prise de nos forts dans l'Amérique par les ordres du Protecteur. Bref tant d'autres choses indignes de la Majesté du roi et ruineuses à son peuple, que nous avons souffertes et dissimulées dans la seule espérance de venir à bout de cet accommodement tant désiré de notre part. A la vérité le roi ne croit pas qu'il fût de son service de l'accepter à des conditions qui ne serviraient qu'à donner lieu au Protecteur de rompre avec nous à la première occasion, plus avantageusement et avec un prétexte plus apparent qu'il ne saurait faire à cette heure ; et Sa Majesté aussi ne trouve pas juste d'exiger de ses sujets qu'ils souffrent plus longtemps, les bras croisés, le pillage de leurs biens, la désolation de leurs familles et toutes les autres ruines que les Anglais leur causent tous les jours ; mais il sera aisé de juger à qui le blâme de la rupture devra être imputé, si par malheur il arrive, nonobstant toutes les avances et toutes les souffrances ci-dessus, et toutes les facilités que nous avons apportées d'ailleurs à la conclusion du traité.

De trois points qui restent à décider, nous sommes d'accord

du premier qui est celui des réfugiés ; et c'est parce que le roi a bien voulu passer par-dessus toutes les considérations qui le pouvaient empêcher de consentir, car, à parler franchement, nous avons fait comparaison de Français vraiment rebelles à des Anglais qui ne le sont pas et que la seule violence tient éloignés de leur pays.

Nous ne demandons pas mieux que de faciliter le second en traitant d'égal avec l'Angleterre ou bien avec le Protecteur même, pourvu qu'il prenne le titre de roi, et alors Sa Majesté n'hésitera pas à lui faire tout l'honneur que les Rois de France ont accoutumé de faire à ceux d'Angleterre, et lui enverra aussi un ambassadeur extraordinaire pour l'en féliciter, s'il le désire de la sorte ; mais qu'un monarque tel que le roi traite d'égal avec un autre qui n'ait pas le même titre, cette seule pensee, comme je vous le dis, scandalise tous ceux qui en entendent parler et les fait frémir d'indignation. Et quant à l'arbitrage, quoi que vous puissiez dire de l'intérêt du Protecteur, assurez-vous que, si nous l'acceptions en la forme qu'on nous le propose, il serait le premier à solliciter le jugement des arbitres, tant pour acquérir la bienveillance des marchands Anglais, que parce qu'il sait bien que ces Messieurs d'Hambourg, par l'intérêt qu'ils ont en commun avec les autres nations à renverser les lois et ordonnances de ce royaume, sur ce fait de l'amirauté, ne manqueraient pas de déclarer nulles la plupart de nos prises, dont la confiscation est fondée sur lesdites ordonnances, et nous rendraient par ce moyen redevables de si grosses sommes que, faute d'y pouvoir satisfaire, il aurait prétexte d'en venir à une rupture qui serait approuvée de toute l'Europe et trouvée juste de tout le monde, puisque le roi même se serait soumis à ce jugement.

J'ai été bien aise de vous rafraîchir la mémoire de toutes ces choses que vous aurez vues plus au long dans les précédentes dépêches, afin que vous connaissiez que, quand vous préférez l'accommodement à la rupture, vous ne faites qu'exécuter les ordres du roi, et pour vous confirmer aussi que Sa Majesté n'a pas de plus forte passion que de voir la France et l'Angleterre dans l'union et bonne intelligence si nécessaires aux sujets des deux royaumes, me rémettant derechef aux dépêches de M. de Brienne.

X.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 1 Mars, 1655.

. . . . .SUIVANT ma pensée, le Protecteur fait difficulté de se lier les mains, non par aucun dessein d'assister nos ennemis, mais afin de se laisser en état d'être toujours recherché par la France et l'Espagne, faisant voir qu'il n'est engagé ni avec les uns, ni avec les autres, et afin aussi que tenant Sa Majesté en jalousie, elle n'entreprenne pas sous main de traverser son établissement. . . . . Il ne veut point aussi de clause générale qui regarde les rebelles, pour n'ôter pas à nos religionnaires l'espérance de trouver ici leur asile. La conduite que je vois tenir au Protecteur, ses grandes défiances, et l'article sixième de notre traité me font entrer dans ces sentiments; et s'il se peut prendre quelque fondement sur les grandes protestations que me font mes commissaires, nous ne devons pas appréhender que nos ennemis retirent aucune assistance de l'Angleterre. Néanmoins, bien loin d'avoir consenti que Monsieur le Protecteur s'en réserve la liberté, j'insiste à ce qu'elle soit expressément retranchée dans le traité, comme à une condition sans laquelle je ne le puis signer, quoique je prévoie qu'on ne l'accordera qu'avec beaucoup de peine et à toute extrémité.

XI.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 5 Avril, 1655.

. . . . QUANT au point de l'assistance, ils se défendirent de l'expression et insistèrent à ce qu'elle fût restreinte aux ennemis et rebelles présentement déclarés. Je leur remarquai l'inconvénient que produirait cette réserve et sa nouveauté, surtout à l'égard des rebelles; même je demeurai d'accord de la passer s'ils en pouvaient trouver un exemple dans d'autres traités, et ne m'en apportant point, ni aucune raison qu'un dessein de se réserver la liberté de secourir les religionnaires de France s'ils étaient persécutés au préjudice des édits de pacification, je leur ôtai l'espérance que Sa Majesté acquiesçât à un article qui ne servirait qu'à donner cœur aux

mécontents de son royaume. Je leur fis voir aussi que ce serait laisser un prétexte d'éluder l'effet du présent traité, si l'obligation n'était aussi telle contre ses ennemis que les rebelles ; et sur ce qu'ils m'alléguaient que leur traité avec la Hollande ne permettait pas à cet Etat de prendre aucun engagement contraire, j'offris de mettre une clause qui guérît leur scrupule, mais ce fut sans succès ; et enfin ils me proposèrent, pour un dernier expédient, que l'Angleterre n'assisterait point l'Espagne, ni aucun prince, ni Etat adhérents à ses intérêts, ou qui pourraient à l'avenir y adhérer, sans préjudice des traités que le Protecteur a faits avec d'autres nations ; comme aussi que Sa Majesté n'assisterait point la famille des Stuart, ni ses adhérents, et que pour éviter toutes difficultés, il ne se parlerait point des rebelles, qui d'ailleurs, se trouvent compris sous le nom d'adhérents aux ennemis. Je donnai les mains à la prèmiere partie de cette proposition, pourvu qu'il fût expressément fait mention des dits rebelles ; ils demeurèrent fermes, remettant à me donner une dernière résolution jusqu'à ce qu'ils eussent fait leur rapport à son altesse ; et devant que de nous séparer, je les pressai d'une prompte expédition ou d'une audience de congé, et n'oubliai pas de leur faire connaître l'état des affaires de France, la gratitude que doit avoir M. le Protecteur de ce que, dans le temps qu'il est menacé d'un soulèvement général, le roi lui offre un traité si avantageux, ni aucun discours qui pût leur faire craindre la rupture ou souhaiter l'accommodement. Je n'ai point eu de leurs nouvelles tous ces jours, et en ayant envoyé demander ce matin, tant aux commissaires qu'au secrétaire, ils m'ont mandé que Monsieur le Protecteur n'avait rien à ajouter à ce qu'ils m'ont dit dans cette dernière conférence, qu'il m'eût, dès la semaine passée, donné une audience de congé, s'il eût cru que j'eusse dû insister sur la clause des rebelles, et que c'était leur mettre le doigt sur l'œil que de vouloir ôter à l'Angleterre la liberté d'assister nos religionnaires, pour lesquels elle a autrefois répandu tant de sang ; qu'à l'égard des autres sujets de Sa Majesté qui se pourraient soulever, cet Etat ne prétendait point les assister, et en ôtait assez la liberté par l'article qui m'est offert.

XII.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 20 Mai, 1655.

Nous (lui et les Commissaires du Conseil) examinâmes ensuite l'article secret; et sur ce qu'ils ne vouloient point admettre que je leur parlasse du Roi de la Grande Bretagne sous ce titre, je leur proposai l'article d'une façon qui m'exemptoit d'en parler, dont ils demeurèrent d'accord.

[Il rend compte, dans la même lettre, des nouveaux retards apportés à la conclusion du traité par l'arrivée d'un ambassadeur extraordinaire d'Espagne, le Marquis de Leyde.]

Ils eurent audience mardi dernier. Ce ne fut qu'une action de cérémonie et de compliments. On veut qu'ils offriront commerce libre dans les Indes et liberté de religion aux marchands Anglais trafiquant en Espagne. Mais ce ne sont que conjectures, fondées sur ce qu'autrefois M. le Protecteur a demandé l'un et l'autre.

(On the 27th of May he writes:—)

L'article secret nous donna plus de peine. L'expédient que j'avois proposé, pour ne point parler du Roi de la Grande Bretagne, n'ayant pas plu au Conseil, nous convînmes à la fin d'un autre.

APPENDIX XVI.

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DECREE OF PHILIP IV., KING OF SPAIN, ADDRESSED TO DON GERONIMO DE LA TORRE.

Aranjuez, April 14, 1655.

You shall write to Don Alonzo de Cardeñas, my ambassador in England, to inform him that, within the last few days, he should have received a bill of exchange for a hundred thousand crowns, drawn by Andrea Peguenoti to the order of the said Don Alonzo, to whom Don Luis de Haro has sent it, that he may employ it in certain secret affairs of the Prince of Condé, in conformity with the instructions he will receive from Flanders; and as Masseroles, who has set out for that

country, has offered to deliver to the prince fifty thousand crowns, to enable him to open the campaign, and as we were unable to send him at the moment a bill of exchange to that amount, I order Don Alonzo that, out of the bill of exchange for a hundred thousand crowns that has been sent him, he must hand over fifty thousand crowns to the prince, or the person appointed by him, that he may make immediate use of it ; the fifty thousand crowns which Masseroles is to receive will be paid to Don Alonzo to replace the fifty thousand which he is to give immediately to the prince, and will thus complete the hundred thousand crowns which he is to employ in conformity with the orders he will receive from Flanders.

APPENDIX XVII.

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I.—OLIVER, PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, TO THE MOST SERENE PRINCE, IMMANUEL, DUKE OF SAVOY, PRINCE OF PIEDMONT, GREETING.

MOST SERENE PRINCE,

LETTERS have been sent us from Geneva, as also from the Dauphurate, and many other places bordering upon your territories, wherein we are given to understand, that such of your Royal Highness's subjects as profess the Reformed Religion, are commanded by your edict and by your authority, within three days after the promulgation of your edict, to depart their native seats and habitations, upon pain of capital punishment and forfeiture of all their fortunes and estates, unless they will give security to relinquish their religion within twenty days, and embrace the Roman Catholic faith. And that when they applied themselves to your Royal Highness in a most suppliant manner, imploring a revocation of the said edict, and that, being received into pristine favour, they might be restored to the liberty granted them by your predecessors, a part of your army fell upon them, most cruelly slew several, put others in chains, and compelled the rest to fly into desert places, and to the mountains covered with snow, where some hundreds of families are reduced to such

distress that 'tis greatly to be feared they will in a short time all miserably perish through cold and hunger. These things, when they were related to us, we could not choose but be touched with extreme grief and compassion for the sufferings and calamities of this afflicted people. Now, in regard we must acknowledge ourselves linked together not only by the same type of humanity, but by joint communion of the same religion, we thought it impossible for us to satisfy our duty to God, to brotherly charity, or our profession of the same religion, if we should only be affected with a bare sorrow for the misery and calamity of our brethren, and not contribute all our endeavours to relieve and succour them in their unexpected adversity as much as in us lies. Therefore, in a greater measure, we most earnestly beseech and conjure your Royal Highness that you would call back to your thoughts the moderation of your most serene predecessors, and the liberty by them granted and confirmed from time to time to their subjects the Vaudois. In granting and confirming which, as they did that which without all question was most grateful to God, who has been pleased to reserve the jurisdiction and power over the conscience to Himself alone, so there is no doubt but that they had a due consideration of their subjects also, whom they found stout and most faithful in war, and always obedient in peace. And as your Royal Serenity in other things most laudably follows the footsteps of your immortal ancestors, so we again and again beseech your Royal Highness not to swerve from the path wherein they trod in this particular, but that you would vouchsafe to abrogate both this edict and whatsoever else may be decreed to the disturbance of your subjects, upon the account of the Reformed Religion; that you would ratify to them their conceded privileges and pristine liberty, and command their losses to be repaired, and that an end be put to their oppressions; which if your Royal Highness shall be pleased to see performed, you will do a thing most acceptable to God, revive and comfort the miserable in dire calamity, and most highly oblige all your neighbours that profess the Reformed Religion, but more especially ourselves, who shall be bound to look upon your clemency and benignity towards your subjects as

the fruit of our earnest solicitation. Which will both engage us to a reciprocal return of all good offices, and lay the solid foundations not only of establishing but increasing alliance and friendship between this republic and your dominions. Nor do we less promise this to ourselves from your justice and moderation; to which we beseech Almighty God to incline your mind and thoughts. And so we cordially implore just Heaven to bestow upon your Highness and your people the blessings of peace and truth, and prosperous success in all your affairs.

Whitehall, May 25, 1655.

II.—OLIVER, PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, TO KING LOUIS XV.

Most Serene King,

The groans of the unhappy Protestants who inhabit Luzerna, Augrogna, and other Alpine valleys within the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, have reached our ears; and the lamentable tidings of the bloody massacres which decimated them; and the spoliation and banishment of the survivors have constrained us to write this letter to your Majesty, more particularly as it has been reported to us (with what truth has not yet been ascertained) that part of your Majesty's troops joined with those of the Duke of Savoy in this carnage. We have not, however, lightly believed this rumour, for such conduct appears to us neither consistent with good government nor in accordance with the practices of your Majesty's ancestors, who always esteemed it their interest, for the peace of their own kingdom as well as for that of all Christendom, to permit their subjects of the Reformed Religion to live secure from violence and attacks, under their authority and protection; and this clemency it is which has often gained the kings of France the useful and glorious support of their Protestant subjects, both in peace and war. Such an example persuaded the dukes of Savoy to treat with similar benignity the inhabitants of the Alpine valleys, who, in return, were very submissive to their princes, and never stinted either life or fortune in their service. We do not doubt but that the

alliance of your Majesty with the present Duke of Savoy, and the influence which your words must have with him, will enable you to obtain for these unfortunate creatures, by your intervention and open expression of goodwill, peace and permission to return to their homes, and the restoration of their former liberty. It will be an action worthy of your Majesty, and in accord with the wise examples of your most serene ancestors; and not only will those of your subjects who profess the Reformed Religion be thereby greatly confirmed in the belief that they have no such persecution to apprehend, but also the Protestant allies and confederates of your Majesty will thereafter be bound to you by stronger ties of fidelity and friendship. For ourselves, all that your Majesty may grant in this respect to your own subjects, or may obtain by your intervention for the subjects of other powers, will rank in our gratitude equally and ever far above all the other great and numerous advantages that we promise ourselves from your Majesty's friendship.

Westminster, May 25, 1654.

III.—OLIVER, PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, TO HIS EMINENCE, CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Most Eminent Lord,

The late most grievous cruelties and most bloody slaughters perpetrated upon the inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont, within the Duke of Savoy's dominions, occasioned the writing of the enclosed letters to his Majesty, and these others to your Eminency. And as we make no doubt but that such tyranny and inhumanity, so rigorously inflicted upon harmless and indigent people, are highly displeasing and offensive to the most serene king; so we readily persuade ourselves that what we request from his Majesty on behalf of those unfortunate creatures your Eminency will employ your endeavour and your favour to obtain, as an accumulation to our intercessions. Seeing there is nothing which has acquired more goodwill to the French nation among all the neighbouring professors of the Reformed Religion than that liberty and those privileges which by public acts and edicts are

granted in that kingdom to the Protestants. And this among others was one main reason why this commonwealth so ardently desired the friendship and alliance of the French people; for the settling of which we are now treating with the king's ambassador, and have made those progresses that the treaty is almost brought to a conclusion. Besides that, your Eminency's singular benignity and moderation, which in the management of the most important affairs of the kingdom you have always testified to the Protestants of France, encourages us to expect what we promise to ourselves from your prudence and generosity; whereby you will not only lay the foundation of a stricter alliance between this commonwealth and the kingdom of France, but oblige us in particular to returns of all good offices of civility and kindness: and of this we desire your Eminency to rest assured.

Whitehall, May 25, 1654.

APPENDIX XVIII.

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LOUIS XIV. TO CROMWELL.

Monsieur le Protecteur,

Dès que je fus averti que le Duc de Savoie avait pris l'occasion du passage des troupes que j'envoyais en Italie pour assister le Duc de Modène dans l'invasion que les Espagnols avait faite dans ses Etats, pour châtier (selon qu'il me l'a depuis fait entendre) la rebellion et désobéissance d'aucuns de ses sujets qui font profession de la religion prétendue réformée, et que ces gens m'eurent prié de leur permettre de se mettre à couvert de la persécution qu'ils disaient leur être faite en haine de la religion qu'ils professent, je dépêchai à l'instant pour témoigner que je n'approuvais nullement la conduite qu'on avait tenue employant mes forces en une chose de cette nature sans mon commandement, quoiqu'on l'eût fait sous prétexte de les faire loger dans la vallée de Lucerne; et je fis passer divers offices à l'endroit du Duc de Savoie pour faire cesser le châtiment qu'on disait se continuer contre aucuns d'entre eux qui étaient demeurés en ses pays; et mandai au Duc de Lesdiguières, gouverneur de ma province du Dauphiné,

de les y accueillir et par un bon traitement leur faire ressentir les effets de ma protection. Et présentement que, par votre lettre en date du xxv^e^ du passé j'ai été informé que, vous êtes touché du malheur de ces pauvres gens, je suis bien aise d'avoir prévenu vos désirs et je continuerai mes instances, envers ce prince pour leur soulagement, et pour qu'il consente qu'ils puissent rétablir leurs demeures aux lieux de ses Etats ezquels il leur avait été concédé par les Ducs de Savoie ses prédécesseurs ; m'étant même avancé de répondre en ce cas de leur fidélité et obéissance, de façon que j'ai sujet d'espérer que mes prières ne seront pas inutiles. Au reste vous avez bien jugé dans cette affaire, ne croyant point que j'eusse donné aucun ordre à mes troupes de faire une semblable exécution ; et à la vérité il n'y avait pas d'apparence que le soupçon pût tomber dans l'esprit d'aucune personne éclairée que j'eusse voulu contribuer au châtiment de quelques sujets du Duc de Savoie faisant profession de la religion prétendue réformée que je tolère dans mes royaumes, pendant que je donne tant de Marques de ma bonne volonté à ceux de mes sujets de la même créance, et que j'ai tout sujet de me louer de leur fidélité et zèle à mon service, ne perdant aucune occasion de la témoigner et allant même au devant de tout ce qu'ils peuvent s'imaginer me devoir plaire et contribuer au bien et à l'avantage de mes affaires.

C'est tout ce que je puis dire en réponse de votre lettre, mais je ne finirai pas sans vous prier d'être assuré qu'en toutes rencontres vous connaîtrez l'estime que je fais de votre personne, et que c'est du meilleur de mon cœur que je demande à la Divine Majesté qu'elle vous ait, Monsieur le Protecteur, en sa sainte et digne garde.

Ecrit à la Fère, le xii^e^ jour de Juin, 1655.

APPENDIX XIX.

(Pages 221, 225.)

I.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 27 Mai, 1655.

Ils me dirent que Son Altesse et le Conseil avaient appris avec beaucoup de ressentiment la persécutiou des Protestants de

Savoie ; que suivant les avis de ce pays l'ambassadeur de Sa Majesté l'avaient suggérée et que ses troupes entrées avec quelques régiments Irlandais l'avaient exécutée avec un esprit de vengeance ; que nos ennemis se servaient de ce prétexte pour refroidir les bonnes intentions de Son Altesse, lui représentant que la bienséance ne lui permettait pas de s'unir avec Sa Majesté, dans le temps qu'elle faisait persécuter lesdits religionnaires, et qu'ils avaient ordre de me demander quelque satisfaction sur ce sujet. L'un desdits commissaires m'avait, dès la veille, fait tout le même discours, et aussi rendis-je la même réponse, que cette affaire n'avait rien de commun avec notre traité, qu'il se pouvait souvenir des déclarations que j'avais faites dès le commencement de ma négociation, que comme M. le Protecteur disposait à sa volonté des catholiques d'Angleterre, aussi le Roi ne rendait compte à personne du gouvernement de son royaume ; qu'il y avait encore bien moins de sujet de lui faire des plaintes de ce qui s'était passé chez un prince souverain, aussi indépendant de la France que de l'Angleterre, et que, si ce gouvernement prétendait mêler cette affaire avec notre accommodement, il ne fallait plus parler de la paix, pour le moins aussi avantageuse à M. le Protecteur qu'à Sa Majesté ; et pour guérir ses scrupules et le désabuser des avis que l'on lui donne, il n'avait qu'à considérer le bon traitement que recevaient les religionnaires de France, le liaison étroite que nous avions avec les Etats de la même profession de foi, et demander au ministre Stoupe, qui avait porté cette nouvelle (c'est le même dont autrefois M. de St. André Monbrun a parlé), ce qu'il avait fait chez l'ambassadeur d'Espagne Samedi dernier, et pour quel service il en avait reçu deux mille francs ce même jour. Nous changeâmes ensuite de ton et de style, et lesdits commissaires, ayant fait retirer plusieurs gens, ils me dirent que Son Altesse me priait d'écrire au roi qu'elle se sentirait fort obligée s'il lui plaisait de s'entremettre en faveur desdits religionnaires, en telle façon qu'il parût que sa recommandation eût produit quelque avantage, se réduisant à les laisser vivre comme par le passé. Cette demande fut faite en des termes qui ne ressentaient plus le zèle de religion, mais plutôt un désir de s'accréditer parmi les Presbytériens d'ici, en leur faisant voir que ce

régime n'oublie aucun office pour secourir leurs confrères. Je ne jugeai pas à propos de repousser cette prière ; seulement leur donnai-je avis, que pour la rendre efficace, Son Altesse, après la signature du traité, me devait charger d'en écrire au roi comme d'une faveur particulière qu'elle en attendait ; lesdits commissaires parurent satisfaits de cette réponse que j'accompagnai de beaucoup d'autres belles paroles, afin de n'en perdre pas le fruit. Je les pressai de prendre jour pour la signature du traité ; ils me remirent jusqu'à ce que le Conseil eût entendu le rapport, avec assurance de ne plus différer. L'un desdits commissaires a parlé ce matin à l'ambassadeur de Messieurs les Etats Généraux en mêmes termes, témoignant d'être sortis fort contents de la conférence d'hier, et surtout de ce que je leur avais dit touchant le soulèvement des vallées de Savoie, dont on fait ici une grande affaire par les menées des ambassadeurs d'Espagne qui se sont servis dudit ministre pour publier ces bruits au moment que l'on croyait notre traité prêt à signer, quoique la nouvelle en fût arrivée il y a long-temps.

II.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 3 Juin, 1655.

J'AI reçu cejourd'hui les deux lettres qu'il vous à plu de m'écrire en date des 27 et 28 de Mai. La première, qui me confirme ce que Son Eminence m'a fait savoir par l'une des siennes, m'obligerait de rapporter beaucoup de particularités, qui peuvent être échappées de mes précédentes dépêches, si elle ne suffisait pour convaincre d'arreur l'avis qui m'impute les longueurs de ma négociation et me représente M. le Protecteur si disposé à la conclusion du traité. Il est bien vrai que ses ministres l'ont souvent publié, et même que je refusais des conditions dans le même temps que je leur proposais ; mais en ayant fait quelquefois des reproches à mes commissaires, ils ont reconnu la vérité, et m'étant plaint à l'un d'eux, qui affecte d'être porté à l'accommodement, de tous ces délais, il ne fit pas scrupule de me mander que tout le monde n'était pas de son avis et qu'il ne pouvait pas s'empêcher de suivre les ordres qui lui étaient donnés. Quand ces avis ne déclareraient pas de quel esprit ce régime agit,

pour en être entièrement éclairci, il ne faut que considérer sa conduite présente. Nous étions d'accord, il y a près de deux mois, de tous les articles, et lorsque j'attendais mes commissaires pour signer, ils formèrent difficulté sur celui du transport des biens ennemis ; après m'être accommodé à leur désir, sur la parole que me porta l'ambassadeur de MM. des Etats généraux, de leur part, d'une prompte conclusion, ils me vinrent trouver avec des articles tout différents de ceux dont nous étions convenus par écrit, faisant revivre de vieilles questions sans les appuyer lors d'aucune raison, ni s'être depuis défendus que leur dessein n'eût été d'entendre l'ambassadeur d'Espagne devant que de rien résoudre avec moi. A ce prétexte, les affaires domestiques ont succédé, et enfin il y a huit jours que lesdits commissaires me donnèrent parole positive de ne plus différer. Je les ai depuis pressés sans relâche de signer, et de leur part ils ont affecté d'être dans cette disposition, faisant mettre au net le traité, et m'ayant, jusqu'à cette après-dînée, tenu dans l'espérance de me l'apporter. Ne recevant point de leurs nouvelles, j'ai envoyé ce soir chez le secrétaire d'Etat, qui avait ce matin donné les mêmes assurances que lesdits commissaires ; mais il a changé de langage et chargé mon homme de me rapporter que Son Altesse, émue des cris et lamentations des pauvres protestants de Savoie, avait résolu, auparavant que de rien signer, d'écrire au Roi en leur faveur et d'envoyer la lettre par un exprès, ajoutant beaucoup de protestations que ce n'était point un prétexte pour retarder l'accommodement, mais que les grandes cruautés qui s'exerçaient contre leurs confrères, dont les nouvelles n'étaient venues que cejourd'hui, et la grande autorité qu'a le Roi sur le Duc de Savoie, obligeaient M. le Protecteur de leur rendre cet office, et ne lui permettaient pas de signer un traité dans une telle conjoncture. J'avouai d'être surpris de ce changement, encore que, comme il aura paru dans ma dernière lettre, je fusse déjà entré en quelque défiance et que même j'eusse demandé des ordres, au cas que, sous ce prétexte de religion, l'on voulût m'amuser. Les assurances si précises qui m'étaient réiterées tous les jours, l'avantage que ce régime trouve dans l'amitié de la France ; les nouvelles venues des Barbades depuis peu,

guérissaient mes soupçons et m'avaient persuadé que les affaires prendraient fin. Je ne sais maintenant à quoi attribuer un procédé si contraire, le zèle de religion n'étant pas capable d'ébranler les desseins du Protecteur : il est bien vrai que l'Espagne a fait agir quelques ministres, que l'on a répandu cette nouvelle avec mille circonstances propres à exciter la compassion, que le peuple, surtout les Indépendants, témoignent avoir un esprit de vengeance et de secours, et que ce gouvernement, pour s'accréditer, pourrait faire quelque démarche qui d'ailleurs s'accommoderait au peu d'inclination qu'il a de conclure. Elle ne parait point avoir d'autre principe que la jalousie des forces de France, ou quelque complaisance pour nos ennemis.

III.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 10 Juin, 1655.

L'on a d'ailleurs jeté cette nuit force libelles qui excitent le peuple à faire sentir aux catholiques le même traitement que le Duc de Savoie à fait sentir aux Vaudois ; ce qui leur cause une grande alarme et a obligé quelques-uns des principaux à me demander une relation de ce soulèvement pour la faire imprimer, et par là désabuser le peuple, persuadé que toutes les cruautés imaginables ont été exercées centre leurs frères, quelque impression contraire que j'aie voulu donner, soit à mes commissaires ou à beaucoup d'autres personnes de condition qui m'en ont parlé. Il aurait été assez à propes que j'eusse été plus informé des particularités pour satisfaire les dits catholiques ; rien néanmoins n'est capable de les mettre à couvert de la rigueur des lois pénales anciennement établies contre eux, qu'un pardon du Duc de Savoie.

IV.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 1 Juillet, 1655.

Il semble que, pour le fomenter (l'enthousiasme), l'on a pris tant de soins de faire une levée sous le nom d'aumône qui suffirait pour entretenir des troupes considérables ; l'on ne saurait encore savoir à quoi elle se monte, mais à juger par les charités de Londres, elle doit être excessive ; personne n'en a

été exempt ; les soldats même ont voulu paraître charitables, et les prédicateurs n'ont rien oublié pour exciter de l'aigreur contre cette prétendue persécution, sans épargner, en beaucoup de chaires, la France, ni omettre l'exemple de la St. Barthélemy. Je dois voir cette nuit le ministre Stoupe, qui m'a fait offrir par le Suisse de me découvrir de grands secrets sur cette matière, et de servir désormais la France, moyennant récompense ; pour la quelle il veut par avance trois cents livres sterling ; quoique son crédit ne soit pas capable de faire la paix ou la guerre, néanmoins, je me suis laissé persuader de les consigner entré les mains du dit Suisse, pour lui être délivrées après l'avoir entretenu, si je trouve qu'il les puisse mériter ; jugeant plus à propos, dans l'état présent de ma négociation, d'hasarder cette somme, pour laquelle Sa Majesté ordonnera, s'il lui plait, le remboursement, que de rebuter un homme qui, étant employé par M. le Protecteur dans ses desseins touchant ceux de la religion prétendue réformée, pourra donner quelque mémoire utile. Je crois qu'il aurait été plus avantageux de faire un présent à mon principal commissaire, qui est présentement l'un des chanceliers du grand sceau ; il fut mandé de la campagne pour ce sujet plutôt que pour notre traité, et incontinent après son établissement, il reçut le serment du premier juge d'Angleterre, que M. le Protecteur a établi en la place de l'ancien qui a remis sa commission pour ne pas juger contre les lois du pays. Ce même scrupule avait porté les trois commissaires du sceau de renoncer à leur emploi, mais l'un d'eux a été persuadé de continuer avec le dit commissaire, ci-devant colonel du Parlement, et qui s'attendait seulement d'être garde du privé sceau.

V.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 8 Juillet, 1655.

Les discours et rapports qui m'ont été faits sur le soulèvement des vallées me donnent la pensée qu'il (le Protecteur) voudrait proposer l'échange de ce pays et offrir ses offices, afin que Sa Majesté ne parût point l'avoir recherché ; le dit ministre m'assure qu'il lui arrivait demain une lettre sans seing qui témoignait que l'intention des dits Vaudois était de prendre

ce parti s'ils ne pouvaient s'ériger en république ; et cette offre d'entrer en communication des moyens de les secourir et de prendre des mesures sur cette affaire, qui établirait une plus étroite amitié entre les deux nations, ne semble point se devoir entendre autrement.

VI.—LE CARDINAL MAZARIN TO M. LE PRÉSIDENT DE BORDEAUX.

Soissons, 9 Juillet, 1655.

MONSIEUR,

J'AI reçu votre lettre du premier de ce mois. Le Roi approuve ce que vous avez fait *avec le ministre Stoupe, et l'on a donné ordre au remboursement des trois cents livres sterling que vous avez promises.* Je me remets du surplus à M. le Comte de Brienne, qui vous mandera plus particulièrement les intentions de Sa Majesté.

VII.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 23 Juillet, 1655.

IL me semble assez à propos de prendre encore patience jusqu'à ce temps, afin qu'au moins le Protecteur ne puisse pas tirer avantage de ce zèle de religion qu'il affecte, pour se conserver dans le crédit par les mêmes voies qui l'ont élevé au haut degré de puissance dont il est revêtu ; sa politique s'accommode raitassez bien avec une guerre dans les dites vallées ; et j'ai reconnu, par le discours de l'un de mes commissaires, et par quelques avis qui m'ont été donnés, que l'on voudrait bien engager les cantons des Suisses Protestants à secourir leurs voisins. Le voyage du Colonel May et son procédé fort plein de réserves m'ayant d'ailleurs donné de l'ombrage, quoiqu'il affectât un grand zèle pour le service de la France, je lui découvris mes défiances sous le titre d'avis certain qui m'avait été donné de quelques propositions que ces seigneurs avaient fait faire par lui à ce gouvernement ; après s'en être défendu quelque temps, se trouvant pressé par quelques particularités, il m'avoua que ses supérieurs l'avaient fait passer en Angleterre pour assurer M. le Protecteur que, s'il voulait envoyer de l'argent aux dits soulevés, la Suisses fourniraient des hommes, dont ils se trouvent beaucoup chargés ; qu'il

avait exécuté ses ordres, même donnés par écrit, sur cette proposition, et qu'il a été résolu d'envoyer en Suisse un officier de l'armée, pour aviser, avec les députés des cantons Protestants, aux moyens de rétablir, avec sureté pour l'avenir, les habitants des dites vallées ; que cependant on leur ferait tenir dix mille livres sterling tous les mois, sans en définir le nombre, et qu'il partirait demain pour se trouver en son pays en même temp que l'envoyé de M. le Protecteur. . . . . .

. . . . . Le Protecteur a bien la vanité de vouloir passer pour défenseur de la foi, quoiqu'il n'en prenne par le titre. Il se flatte aussi que nos prétendus réformés mettent en lui toute leur espérance ; ce n'est pas qu'il ait paru ici aucun homme de leur part, et je ne trouve point que mes lettres aient accusé l'arrivée de ce colonel dont il est parlé dans votre dernière : cet avis doit être venu d'ailleurs que de moi, et de quelqu'un qui a pris le Colonel Mey pour Français ; le ministre Stoupe prétend être le seul négociateur et ne se cache point d'avoir commerce avec l'ambassadeur d'Espagne, offrant de la discontinuer si S. E. le désire. Il m'a paru plus à propos de le souffrir et de m'en remettre à sa bonne foi, sur laquelle je ne me repose pas beaucoup, mais il est bien difficile de se garantir entièrement d'être trompé par telle sorte de gens. Il m'a rapporté que lundi dernier Barrière le mena chez l'ambassadeur, qui lui proposa d'aller en Savoie pour distribuer quelque argent aux ministres des soulevés ; que le Marquis . . . . . lui remettrait en main, et qu'il a refusé cette commission, sur ce que n'étant point envoyé en ces quartiers par le Protecteur, son voyage ne pourrait qu'être suspect ; il me parle, en mêmes termes que le Colonel Mey, des intentions de ce gouvernement, assurant qu'il souhaiterait plutôt la guerre que le paix en ces quartiers, et que, si Sa Majesté ou si M. le Duc de Savoie ne presse l'accommodement, devant l'arrivée de l'envoyé du Protecteur qui ne doit point passer par France, cette affaire recevra beaucoup de traverses, tous les Etats Protestants et l'Espagne étant bien résolus, par différents principes, de ne rien épargner pour entretenir ce feu. Son avis est aussi qu'avec dix ou douze mille francs l'on gagne quelques ministres qui disposent des esprits de cette populace.

VIII.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 9 Août, 1655.

L'AMBASSADEUR de MM. des Etats Généraux me témoigna, dans la visite qu'il me rendit au commencement de cette semaine, pour me congratuler de la prise de Landrecies, qu'il était à souhaiter qu'auparavant l'arrivée en Suisse, tant de la part d'Angleterre que de ses supérieurs, ces soulèvements fussent appaisés ; m'insinuant qu'il n'était pas impossible de faire passer des troupes contre le Duc de Savoie, quand les Suisses ne voudraient pas assister les rebelles. Cette menace, que je reçus avec le mepris qu'elle mérite, ne fait que découvrir d'avantage la grande correspondance d'entre ses supérieurs et cet Etat sur le point de la religion, quoique les motifs des uns et des autres soient bien différents. Le secours d'argent qui devait partir d'ici n'est pas encore prêt, et la charité des provinces a si peu répondu à celle de Londres que le fonds n'approchera pas de la somme dont mes précédentes ont parlé. Il fût publié la semaine passée une ordonnance pour exciter le peuple, que les premières semonces n'ont point touché, à ouvrir leurs bourses, et l'on continuait de prendre grand soin pour assembler un secours d'argent considérable.

IX.—CARDINAL MAZARIN TO M. LE PRÉSIDENT DE BORDEAUX.

19 Août, 1655.

JE vous puis dire, pour ce qui est de l'accommodement des Huguenots de la vallée de Lucerne, que si ces gens là se veulent contenter de choses raisonnables, et au-delà, M. le Protecteur, qui témoigne de prendre tant de part en leur protection, aura grand sujet d'être content des offices que Sa Majesté a si utilement interposés en leur faveur auprès de M. le Duc de Savoie ; mais comme l'on a sujet de soupçonner qu'on veut se servir de ce prétexte pour voir si l'on pourrait émouvoir tous ceux qui professent la religion prétendue réformée, si l'on voit que ces gens-là s'opiniâtrent à ne vouloir point d'accommodement et que l'on vise à cette émotion, le roi, après avoir donné tant de marques de sa sin-

cérité et de son affection, sera obligé de prendre d'autres moyens pour s'opposer à ce mauvais dessein. Je ne vous dis pas le détail de ce que M. le Duc de Savoie a fait à l'instance du roi, ayant donné la carte blanche à M. le president Servien pour ajuster cette affaire parce que, je ne doute pas que M. de Brienne ne vous en ait informé. . . . . .

X.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 26 Août, 1655.

. . . . . Le secrétaire d'Etat et d'autres ministres . . . . . ont témoigné que leur honneur et conscience seroient blessés s'ils passoient outre à la signature de notre traité devant la pacification des Vaudois de Savoie. C'est, Monsieur, avec beaucoup de raison que l'on peut croire qu'elle n'est désirée ici qu'en apparence. La lettre qu'aura présentée au roi le sieur Downing ne fera point changer de sentiment ; et j'ai eu tout sujet d'en être persuade tant par le procédé que par le discours de M. le Protecteur qui, en diverses rencontres, a parlé de Nice et de Villefranche comme de places où il étoit facile de débarquer ; ce que je n'ai pas contesté, mais bien le passage dans le Piémont.

XI.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Londres, 2 Septembre, 1655.

MONSEIGNEUR,

J'AI reçu ce soir les deux lettres en date des 19e et 22e d'Août, dont votre Eminence m'a honoré ; elles ne m'obligent pas de rien ajouter à mes précédentes et à ce que j'écris aujourd'hui à M. le Comte de Brienne, touchant la disposition de ce Gouvernement à l'égard de la France, et ses sentiments sur le soulèvement des vallées de Savoie ; seulement assurerai-je que je n'ai pas manqué de faire connaître les offices que Sa Majesté avait ordonné, à M. Servien l'ambassadeur, de passer en faveur des Vaudois, et le peu d'apparence qu'il y avait qu'aucun Etat les pût garantir d'une ruine entière si le roi les abandonnait, et s'ils refusaient les conditions avantageuses que le Duc de Savoie leur veut accorder en sa considération. M. le Protecteur et ses ministres sont sans

doute assez informés de la charité de ce pays pour avoir perdu la pensée qu'il leur pût être envoyé aucun secours d'ailleurs que des Suisses protestants, qui ne sont pas en état d'entreprendre une guerre contre leurs alliés pour une cause si injuste et dans un temps que leurs peuples sont disposés à un nouveau soulèvement. Ce n'est pas que d'abord l'on n'ait insinué qu'avec de l'argent, il serait facile d'engager des particuliers d'y passer des troupes, et que même les religionnaires des Cevennes et du Dauphiné leur donneraient de l'assistance ; mais aujourd'hui M. le Protecteur semble avoir pour premier but de ses diligences, le désir de paraître fort zélé pour la cause des religionnaires ; cette réputation lui est assez nécessaire auprès de ceux qui maintiennent son gouvernement, et les ministres des états étrangers qui sont de la même profession de foi l'en ont assez flatté pour lui faire naître l'ambition de passer pour leur protecteur, et remettre la signature du traité de France, sur le seul prétexte de religion, encore que ceux qui examineront de près sa conduite, depuis que la puissance d'Angleterre est tombée en ses mains, puissent facilement reconnaître qu'il a eu d'autres motifs que la religion ; néanmoins plusieurs ne laissent pas d'en être persuadés, et il ne s'oublie en rien pour donner cette impression au peuple.

XII.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 16 Septembre, 1655.

Ma dernière lettre a fait s'avoir que le Secrétaire d'Etat avait reçu avec quelque froideur la nouvelle que je lui avais envoyée de l'accommodement des vallées du Piémont ; il en a depuis parlé avec peu d'approbation, et l'on peut tenir pour certain que M. le Protecteur s'attendait d'y avoir meilleure part ; de quoi se voyant privé et n'osant avec bienséance s'en plaindre, il s'en prend aux conditions du traité, comme si elles étaient entièrement desavantageuses aux habitants des dites vallées, et n'aient été reçues que par la nécessité que leur a imposée M. Servien l'ambassadeur. Quelques ministres en parlent en ces mêmes termes, et le dernier de ses envoyés en Savoie, partant de la cour, a écrit que l'accommodement était pire que le massacre ; il se dit aussi quel les lettres du

Roi traitent avec un peu trop de hauteur ; c'est dont il ne m'a rien été témoigné ; mais le bruit qui s'en répand, et le silence du dit secrétaire, lorsque je l'ai fait mettre sur ce sujet, ne laisse pas lieu de douter que ce ne soit le sentiment de son maître. Je les laisserai digérer ces petits mécontentements, sans leur parler d'affaires ; seulement continuerai-je, lorsque l'occasion s'en présentera, de faire connaître que Sa Majesté n'a point changé de résolution à l'égard de l'Angleterre.

XIII.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 23 Septembre, 1655.

Suivant les bruits publics, il se doit faire une petite assemblée de tous les envoyés des Etats protestants, pour affermir par une protestation la paix que le duc de Savoie a accordée à ses sujets. Néanmoins l'un de mes commissaires assure que le dernier envoyé d'Angleterre a ordre de retourner, et même continue de parler de l'avantage mutuel que la France et l'Angleterre retireront d'une étroite alliance, faisant entendre que M. le Protecteur, avec un secours considérable d'argent, pourrait continuer ses desseins dans les Indes. Les derniers ordres qui m'ont été envoyés sur semblables ouvertures ne me donnent pas lieu de croire que Sa Majesté voulût contribuer aux frais de cette guerre. Je n'ai point relevé le discours que le dit commissaire peut avoir tenu pour m'entretenir toujours de belles paroles, et plus vraisemblablement pour pressentir quelle est la présente disposition de Sa Majesté ; mais je suis demeuré dans des offres, en termes généraux, de ses forces et de sa puissance, afin de ne point ôter l'espérance qu'elle ne pût être portée à ce qu'autrefois j'ai proposé de sa part.

XIV.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 7 Octobre, 1655.

M. le Protecteur n'est pas satisfait du traité de Savoye ; mais ce mécontentement procède de ce qu'il ne paroît point y avoir eu aucune part, s'il est vrai, suivant le rapport qui m'a été fait, que sa dernière maladie, de laquelle

son esprit n'étoit pas moins attaqué que le corps, fût en partie causée par le chagrin d'avoir si mal réussi dans le dessein des Indes et en Savoye.

(Et plus bas :)—

Je me suis tenu dans des termes généraux, sans répondre à la nécessité d'argent dont l'on ne me fait point de mystère ; et il semble que, pour reconnoître si j'ai pouvoir de la soulager, l'on ait ouvert la dernière lettre qu'il vous a plu de m'écrire le 30 passé. Elle aura ôté l'espérance de secours.

[In another despatch, dated October 14, he adds :—]

J'ai reconnu assez de froideur depuis que je n'ai pas précisément répondu à quelque discours d'argent qu'a tenu l'un de mes commissaires.

APPENDIX XX.

(Page 233.)

I.—DON ALONZO DE CARDEÑAS TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

Londres, 12 Août, 1655.

SIRE,

DANS ma dépêche du 4 de ce mois, j'ai rendu compte à V. M., par la voie secrète de France, de l'échec que les Anglais ont subi dans l'île de Saint-Domingue et des différentes versions qui couraient ici-à ce sujet. Le 6 de ce mois, j'ai envoyé un duplicata de ma dépêche, désirant que V. M. fût le plus tôt possible instruite de la déconfiture de ce projet contre les Indes, accompagnée d'une si grande perte d'hommes et si fatale à l'honneur de l'Angleterre. Quoique cet événement soit encore raconté de diverses manières et confusément, car les hommes du gouvernement cachent les détails, cependant ayant obtenu la copie d'une lettre écrite par un officier de la flotte à un de ses amis, je la transmets à V. M. avec la présente, le récit qu'elle contient me paraissant le plus vraisemblable de tous ceux qui ont été publiés.

Par cette relation, V. M. verra comment, après avoir été repoussés de l'île de Saint-Domingue, les Anglais passèrent à la Jamaïque et y entrèrent sans recontrer aucune résistance, attendu que tous les habitants s'étaient retirés, avec tous leurs biens, dans les bois des montagnes. Le Protecteur, qui n'at-

tache pas une grande importance à ce succès, ressent vivement l'affaire de Saint-Domingue, non seulement parce que un plan aussi coûteux a échoué, mais parce que ses mauvaises intentions ont été ainsi mises à nu, sans autre résultat que de l'avoir exposé à une honte universelle qui rejaillit sur lui, pour avoir commis une perfidie aussi abominable que d'avoir attaqué les possessions de V. M., au lieu de la reconnaissance qu'il devait pour tous les honneurs et faveurs dont V. M. l'a tant de fois comblé, et cela sans aucun autre motif que celui de sa méchanceté et de son avidité. Quelques personnes de son Conseil ont assuré qu'elles étaient opposées à cette expédition et qu'elles avaient cherché à en détourner le Protecteur, mais qu'il les évitait précisément lorsqu'il s'occupait de la mise à exécution de ce projet. Maintenant ses partisans vont disant que cette expédition a été faite parce qu'il n'y avait pas de paix avec V. M. au delà de la Ligne, et lorsqu'on leur répond que l'île de Saint-Domingue et les autres îles du vent sont de ce côté-ci de la Ligne, ils répondent qu'il ne s'agit pas de la ligne équinoxiale ni d'aucune autre dont on avait parlé auparavant, comme celle du tropique du Cancer, mais d'une ligne fictive, imaginaire, qui sépare celles des possessions de V. M. dans lesquelles les Anglais font leur commerce d'avec celles où ils n'en font pas, et que dans les premières il y a paix, tandis qu'il n'y en a pas dans les autres. Toutefois, tous ceux qui s'en tiennent aux articles du dernier traité de paix reconnaissent la futilité de cet argument, ainsi que de celui qu'on allègue en disant que c'est l'Espagne qui a attaqué la première, lorsque don Fadrique de Toledo prit possession de l'île de Saint-Christophe (San-Cristobal) en chassant les Anglais qui l'habitaient, et lorsque le général Pimienta s'empara de l'île de Sainte-Catherine (Santa-Catalina) pendant que le Parlement était tout occupé de sa guerre contre le Roi. Aussi cette excuse n'est pas généralement admise, ces cas étant entièrement différents, attendu que la conquête de ces îles n'a été qu'un recouvrement, et que V. M. a pu le faire, ces îles ayant autrefois appartenu à V. M.

Les négociants de Londres sont dans la plus grande inquiétude ; ils n'osent plus envoyer des marchandises dans les Etats de V. M., craignant que ces commencements de rupture

n'aboutissent à une guerre ouverte. Quant à moi, considérant l'état critique de ces affaires ainsi que la situation des choses en Espagne, qui n'est pas telle qu'on puisse entreprendre une nouvelle guerre, considérant qu'il est dans l'intérêt du service de V. M. que ces affaires soient arrangées à leur début en amenant le Protecteur à renoncer à son projet, je travaille, tout en attendant les ordres de V. M., en secret et avec tout le zèle qu'exige une affaire de cette importance et l'honneur de l'autorité de V. M.; et je cherche, à l'aide d'une personne de confiance, à faire comprendre à quelques membres du Conseil qui nous sont favorables l'injustice de leur cause et les grands désavantages qui peuvent résulter pour l'Angleterre de la poursuite de ce projet si peu attendu et si peu mérité par l'Espagne : je leur fais comprendre qu'il nous serait moins préjudiciable d'avoir affaire à un ennemi ouvert qu'à un ennemi caché, lequel ne pourrait jamais faire quelque chose de pis que d'attaquer les Indes et les flottes de V. M. Ces personnes, me dit-on, donnent à entendre qu'elles voient la chose de la même manière et qu'elles condamnent la conduite du Protecteur. Une de ces personnes (membre du Conseil) est allée jusqu'à dire que l'envoi de cette flotte était une rupture préméditée.

Je ne sais quel effet produiront mes démarches ; mais si par hasard le Protecteur s'obstinait à persévérer dans son dessein sur les Indes (chose pour laquelle je ne lui vois pas beaucoup de disposition, à cause du manque de moyens) ou dans le projet de conclure un traité avec la France (ce que dans ce moment-ci il ne fait pas, bien que, à l'occasion de l'affaire de Saint-Domingue, le bruit d'un arrangement prochain ait couru), ou s'il persistait à ne pas renouveler la paix à moins qu'on ne lui accorde les points du commerce des Indes et de l'Inquisition, il sera nécessaire que V. M. se décide, dans tous ces cas, à me faire dire ce que je dois faire et à m'en informer aussitôt, afin que je puisse me guider dans une telle conjoncture et atteindre le succès que j'ai toujours cherché pour le service de V. M.

II.—DON ALONZO DE CARDEÑAS TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

Londres, 6 Septembre, 1655.

SIRE,

EN continuant de rendre compte à V. M. chaque semaine de tout ce qui a lieu dans ce pays, je la fais aujourd'hui par la voie secrète de France, pour dire que, relativement à l'affaire dont j'ai parlé dans ma dernière dépêche, il n'y a rien de neuf. Depuis ma dernière j'ai continué à disposer les dits membres du Conseil en notre faveur, afin qu'ils soient tout à fait bien préparés lorsqu'il m'arrivera des ordres de V. M. au sujet des dépêches que j'ai envoyées, lesquels ordres ne peuvent plus tarder à arriver. On aperçoit de bonnes dispositions chez les membres du Conseil, mais elles serviront à peu de chose si l'on ne parvient pas à amener le Protecteur à céder sur les points de l'Inquisition et des Indes ; toute la difficulté tomberait alors. Autant que je puis le comprehendre, on ne veut pas ici avoir la guerre avec V. M. ; on désire plutôt conserver le dernier traité de paix, et attendre une bonne occasion, une chance pour commettre une iniquité égal à celle de cette année, ou plus grande encore ; comme on connaît déjà leurs intentions, il ne sera pas difficile de prendre dans les Indes des mesures de nature à pouvoir résister à leur invasion ; et quant à ce qui peut se passer en Europe, il faudra agir avec la prudence, le soin et la vigilance que commande leur perfidie, aussi longtemps qu'il conviendra de dissimuler en attendant que les affaires de la monarchie prennent une meillure tournure.

Il y a cinq jours un navire expédié par la flotte de Penn est arrivé ici ; les nouvelles qu'il a apportées sont tenues si secrètes que je ne saurais dire à V. M. avec certitude ce que c'est ; mais à en juger par le soin qu'on met à les cacher au palais et par le chagrin et l'abattement qu'on voit au Protecteur, on peut conclure qu'il y a quelque probabilité à ce qui commence à transpirer, savoir que les habitants de la Jamaïque sortis de leurs forêts ont tellement mal mené les Anglais qu'ils les ont forcés de quitter l'île. Je ne pourrais cependant donner à V. M. cette nouvelle pour certaine à moins que je n'en recoive la confirmation. Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que

le lendemain de l'arrivée du navire, le Protecteur se renferma à midi et ne voulut voir personne jusqu'à la nuit, s'étant soumis à un jeûne rigoureux pour rendre plus favorables les nouvelles qui doivent lui arriver de ses flottes. C'est surtout celle de Penn qu'on s'attend à voir ici prochainement. Dans celle de Blake, dit-on, la peste fait des ravages ; six frégates qu'il a détachées de sa flotte et envoyées ici sont venues chargées de malades ; il est à craindre qu'elles ne communiquent la contagion à tout le pays et que Dieu ne veuille punir par ce fléau les méchantes actions de cet homme. On parle encore de son intention d'équiper d'autres bâtiments pour les envoyer aux Indes ; mais ce ne sera pas facile, à en juger par les dispositions des soldats et des marins, et par suite du manque de moyens pour les équiper.

III.—DON ALONZO DE CARDEÑAS TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

Londres, 4 Octobre, 1655.

SIRE,

JE continue de rendre compte à V. M. chaque semaine, par la voie secrète de France, de tout ce qui se passe dans ce pays afin que V. M. ait connaissance de tout. La présente va informer V. M. de ce que j'ai pu apprendre depuis ma dernière du 27 du mois passé.

Le Conseil d'Etat, après avoir entendu en présence du Protecteur le récit que lui firent les deux généraux Penn et Venables au sujet de l'expédition des Indes et les détails de l'échec subi dans l'Ile d'Hispaniola (Saint-Domingue) a trouvé leur conduite mauvaise et a attribué l'insuccès de l'expédition à cette conduite ; il a trouvé également mauvais qu'ils fussent revenus en Angleterre sans la permission du Protecteur, permission nécessaire, d'après les instructions qu'ils en avaient reçues. Le Conseil d'Etat a donc pris la résolution de les emprisonner dans la Tour de Londres et de leur intenter un procès ; on croit qu'ils seront, sous peu, mis en jugement et traités avec rigueur, si l'on en juge par la colère dont de Protecteur se montre animé contre eux, non-seulement parce qu'ils n'ont rien fait de ce qu'il leur avait ordonné, mais encore parce que, par suite de leur retour en Angleterre, les nouvelles des malheurs et des misères que la flotte a subis

dans les Indes ont été répandues dans le public. Le peuple parle à cette occasion avec dérision et dédain des résolutions du Protecteur et de ses plans ; or ce n'est pas ce qui le tourmente le moins ; aussi pour faire comprende que, s'il n'a pas fait la conquéte de l'Ile de Saint-Domingue, ce n'a pas été faute de préparatifs, de mesures et d'ordres de sa part, mais que c'est uniquement la faute des chefs qui devaient les exécuter, il les a envoyés à la Tour de Londres afin que toute le monde voie que ce n'est pas lui qui a été cause de l'insuccès, mais que c'est la désunion des généraux et leur manque de mérite qui ont amené la perte des troupes et de la flotte. Jusqu'a présent on n'a pris aucune résolution dans le Conseil d'Etat sur la question de savoir si le dessein contre les Indes sera poursuivi ou non ; et quoique l'on croie que la nouvelle de l'embargo que V. M. a fait mettre sur les propriétés des Anglais précipitera l'exécution de ce dessein, non-seulement on n'a pas délibéré en Conseil sur ce point, mais encore on n'a pas en recours, en guise de représailles, au séquestre des propriétés des sujets de V. M. qui résident en Angleterre, et c'est ce qui donne lieu à beaucoup d'observations. Les négociants de Londres, qui font le commerce dans les Etats de V. M., sont allés parler au Protecteur et lui ont proposé d'envoyer un ambassadeur auprès de V. M. chargé de négocier la levée de l'embargo sur leurs propriétés ; mais ils n'ont pas réussi ; il leur a répondu qu'il ne pouvait pas empêcher V. M. de lui faire la guerre si tel était le désir de V. M., comme on pouvait l'inférer du séquestre mis par ordre de V. M., mais qu'eux, les négociants, ne pouvaient pas raisonnablement se plaindre de lui, Protecteur, attendu qu'il avait fait avertir secrètement plusieurs d'entre eux qu'ils feraient bien de mettre leurs capitaux à l'abri en les retirant des Etats de V. M. ; que, s'ils ne l'ont pas fait à temps, ce n'était pas sa faute, et que du reste il ne paraissait pas que la considération de leurs pertes ou profits dût retarder les mesures dictées par l'intérêt de l'Etat. Il a ajouté que, si Dieu lui avait accordé le succès dans les Indes, il croyait qu'on n'aurait pas mis d'embargo sur leurs propriétés en Espagne. Peu de temps après, le Protecteur a fait venir les principaux négociants et leur a proposé de contribuer tous par leurs ressources à équi-

per une flotte, comme les négociants de Séville et de Cadix avaient fait pour s'opposer aux desseins de l'Angleterre, disant que de cette manière non-seulement ils pourraient s'indemniser et se venger du tort que V. M. leur a fait en mettant le séquestre sur leurs propriétés, mais encore qu'on pourrait donner suite au projet de l'occupation de l'île d'Hispaniola. Les négociants ont répondu en s'excusant ; ils ont dit qu'ils n'en avaient pas les moyens, attendu que leurs propriétés étaient séquestrées et que leur commerce en Espagne leur manquait absolument ; que le cas des négociants de Séville et de Cadix contribuant à l'équipement d'une flotte était bien différent du leur, car pour ceux-là il s'agissait de mettre en sûreté une flotte des Indes dans laquelle ils avaient de grands intérêts, tandis que les négociants de Londres, en contribuant à la création d'une autre flotte, ne pouvaient empêcher l'embargo sur leurs biens ni dégager leurs marchandises, et qu'au contraire cela pourrait irriter V. M. et empirer la situation. Après avoir parlé ainsi, les négociants prirent congé du Protecteur et la conversation n'alla pas plus loin.

Quant à la flotte de l'amiral Blake, voici ce que j'ai entendu dire. D'après les dernières nouvelles il se trouvait, dans le fleuve de Lisbonne où il réparait ceux de ses bâtiments qui en avaient besoin ; et il est parti d'ici des ordres portant que six frégates, que l'amiral avait envoyées ici chargées de malades, devaient retourner le rejoindre. On croit que, si à l'heure qu'il est, elles n'ont pas encore quitté le port de Plymouth où elles se trouvaient pour cause de réparation, elles ne tarderont pas à le faire avec le premier vent. Trois autres navires chargés de vivres et destinés à ravitailler Blake attendent, dit-on, depuis plusieurs jours le moment du départ, mais il y a beaucoup de personnes qui pensent le contraire. On a ordonné d'appareiller en toute hâte quinze autres bâtiments, et l'on croit qu'ils sont destinés comme renforts à la même flotte ; toutefois beaucoup de personnes pensent que Blake reviendra bientôt, attendu qu'on aurait appris dans quel mauvais état se trouvait sa flotte, par les récits qu'en a faits un navire marchand Anglais venant de Lisbonne. Le Protecteur est rétabli de son indisposition et ne parle que de guerre, et comme quoi il doit faire la conquête de toutes les Indes lors-

qu'il aura équipé une autre grande flotte ; mais comme les paroles ne coûtent rien et que, pour exécuter ce que l'on dit, il faut beaucoup de choses, il se peut que tous ces propos ne soient que de la politique, car, dans ce moment, on ne voit pas comment on pourrait réunir quatre millions d'écus qui est la somme à laquelle se monte le devis qu'on en a fait et qui serait nécessaire pour cette expédition que le Protecteur annonce vouloir préparer.

Il est venu, avec la flotte de l'Amiral Penn, quelques matelots Espagnols qui avaient été pris par les Anglais, se rendant à l'île de Saint-Domingue ; entre autres un natif des Canaries, qui depuis vingt-six ans a voyagé dans les différentes parties des Indes et paraît bien les connaître. Cet homme m'a raconté que les Anglais qui sont restés à la Jamaïque sont au nombre de trois à quatre mille, car on en avait fait venir un grande nombre des colonies voisines, et que Penn en revenant en Angleterre avait cherché à savoir si les galions ou la flotte de la Nouvelle-Espagne avaient déjà passé, et qu'il avait appris que la dite flotte était entrée à la Havane deux jours avant son arrivée dans ces parages là ; mais que quant aux galions il n'avait rien appris, et qu'ainsi il a continué sa route pour l'Angleterre. Ce matelot pense que les galions ne sont pas sortis de Carthagène et qu'ils ne pourront pas le faire avec sécurité tant qu'il n'y aura pas de flotte Espagnole pour les escorter ; car indépendamment des douze frégates restées à la Jamaïque, on avait armé tous les bâtiments qui leur apportaient des approvisionnements et d'autres encore qu'ils avaient pris aux Hollandais aux Barbades, et de cette manière le nombre de tous les bâtiments (Anglais) se montera à 27 navires au moins. Cet homme m'a dit encore que, pendant qu'il était prisonnier des Anglais à la Jamaïque, il avait entendu dire à quelques officiers que, parmi les plans qu'ils étaient chargés de mettre à exécution, il y avait celui de la prise du poste de Saint-Augustin dans la Floride, parce qu'ils le croyaient facile à exécuter, et parce que ce point était fort bien placé pour leurs autres buts, attendu qu'en l'occupant ils seraient maîtres de tous ces pays sur la terre-ferme, ainsi que du canal de Bahama et pourraient, à ce qu'il leur semblait, empêcher le passage des flottes et des galions. Pour prendre ce poste (de

Saint-Augustin) on ne devait pas entrer par le fleuve sur lequel il est situé, attendu qu'il n'y a pas là de rade assez grande pour le nombre de bâtiments qu'ils amènent, mais plutôt débarquer des troupes sur la terre-ferme et l'occuper ; ils étaient sûrs de pouvoir le faire facilement, vu que la garnison de ce fort ne dépassait pas 300 hommes, qu'elle n'était pas pourvue de munitions, qu'elle manquait de beaucoup d'autres choses et qu'elle ne songeait pas même à la chance d'une surprise. Quoique ces renseignements ne viennent que d'un simple matelot, cependant comme nous vivons dans un temps où il faut tenir compte de tous ceux qui nous arrivent, il m'a paru nécessaire d'en faire part à Votre Majesté.

IV.—INSTRUCTIONS TO BE SENT TO DON ALONZO DE CARDEÑAS, IN REFERENCE TO HIS DEPARTURE FROM LONDON.

Octobre, en 1655.

DES que vous aurez reçu cette dépêche, vous demanderez une audience du Protecteur, en priant votre introducteur de vous l'obtenir pour le jour suivant et en disant que vous désirez lui donner ce témoignage de respect avant de partir pour les Flandres, où vous avez l'ordre de vous rendre immédiatement. En même temps vous enverrez votre secrétaire auprès du secrétaire d'Etat pour lui demander un passeport pour votre voyage. Vous demanderez l'un et l'autre (l'audience et le passeport) de manière à pouvoir les obtenir sans toutefois manquer à la politesse ; mais si l'on vous renvoyait au lendemain, vous prendrez congé du Protecteur par écrit, sans lui dire autre chose si ce n'est que, ayant reçu l'ordre de vous rendre immédiatement en Flandre, vous avez craint de n'avoir pas le temps de prendre congé de lui. Si cependant, comme il y a lieu de croire, il vous donne audience, vous lui direz que, m'ayant rendu compte de la réponse décisive qu'il vous avait fait donner le 6 Juin dernier, et d'après laquelle le libre commerce dans les Indes devait changer tout ce qui s'était pratiqué jusqu'ici relativement aux affaires de conscience et aux droits de commerce avec ce royaume cette réponse m'est une preuve que le Protecteur ne dé-

sire pas pour le moment de conclure un traité de paix, chose à laquelle j'avais tant travaillé, comme il est notoire ; que par conséquent je vous ai ordonné de passer en Flandre, et que, avant de le faire, vous avez voulu lui présenter vos respects et lui dire combien vous avez toujours à cœur de le servir. Vous direz tout cela en peu de mots que je laisse à votre jugement et qui seront en rapport avec le caractère dont vous êtes revêtu.

Si le Protecteur, en vous répondant, vous dit que c'est rompre les négociations que vous avez eues avec lui pour le renouvellement du traité de paix, vous lui direz qu'il ne saurait appartenir au renouvellement d'un traité de paix de soulever deux questions aussi considérables et aussi difficiles que les deux points sus-mentionnés, et que, s'il voulait traiter sérieusement, les moyens de le faire ne lui manqueraient pas ; qu'il saurait bien où les chercher et envoyer des hommes habiles capables de conclure un traité ; que vous deviez penser qu'il ne proposerait pas de choses que les rois héréditaires d'Angleterre n' ont jamais cherché à obtenir, et que toutes les fois qu'il insistera sur des choses semblables, insolites dans les traités de paix, on en conclura qu'il n'en vent pas, et qu'ainsi votre séjour (à Londres) serait oiseux. Enfin, en vous exprimant dans ces termes généraux, vous prendrez congé de lui.

Si le Protecteur se plaignait de ce que vous n' avez pas conclu le traité d'alliance, vous lui remettrez en mémoire tous les délais par lesquels il a toujours répondu à vos ouvertures et la lenteur avec laquelle il a traité toute cette affaire ; vous lui rappellerez l'empressement avec lequel vous avez toujours repris la matière et répondu toutes les fois qu'on vous en a parlé ; vous rappellerez que lorsque le Protecteur a proposé l'entreprise sur Calais, c'était dans un temps où, de son propre avis, il était inopportun d'en parler ni de conclure aucun arrangement, puisque c'était au moment où la campagne de Flandre avait commencé et où mes troupes étaient employées à d'autres entreprises.

Si le Protecteur vous demande si je me plains de ce que ses flottes ont fait, vous lui direz que, quant à celle de Blake (bien que vous ayiez entendu dire quelque chose qui est de nature

à nous porter ombrage), vous ne savez pas qu'il y ait eu des hostilités à son égard, qu'au contraire vous avez entendu dire que, dans tous les ports de mes Etats, elle a été bien accueillie et qu'on lui a donné toute assistance et ravitaillement qu'elle désirait et qu'on a pu donner.

Si l'on a conçu en Angleterre des craintes, ou si l'on a reçu des avis au sujet des représailles qui ont été faites ici, et si le Protecteur vient à vous en parler, vous pouvez répondre que, lorsqu'on a su ici que la flotte de Penn avait attaqué l'île de Saint-Domingue où se trouvent une juridiction, une garnison et un château-fort Espagnols, j'ai ordonné qu'on usât de représailles dans mes Etats, attendu que cette conduite de la flotte Anglaise dans les Indes a été un acte contraire à toute justice ét sans motif aucun, et qu'à moins que le Protecteur ne prouve clairement que cette conduite a été contraire à ses ordres, et ne prenne des mesures pour réparer les pertes que mes sujets ont éprouvées, je dois venir à leur aide au moyen des représailles usitées en pareils cas.

S'il prétendait qu'il peut attaquer soit les Indes, soit les galions, sans enfreindre les traités de paix, vous lui direz qu'il ne vous parait pas que moi je puisse l'entendre ainsi, ni le monde, et que vous ne croyez pas que le Protecteur lui-même pense que cela soit possible.

S'il venait à vous proposer une justification de ces actes de ses flottes et à vous promettre qu'il s'expliquera là-dessus avec moi, vous approuverez cette idée, mais vous ne vous arrêterez pas pour cela plus longtemps à Londres, parce que ce sont les événements mêmes qui doivent être le motif de votre départ ; toutefois s'il offrait une satisfaction et s'il se désistait des points consignés dans sa réponse du 6 Juin dont il a été parlé plus haut, en vous priant de rester pour m'informer de sa proposition et pour traiter et conclure promptement le renouvellement de la paix, vous lui direz que vous, étant un ministre de paix (car c'est là la mission d'un ambassadeur), vous voyez tant de choses de nos jours s'évanouir qua, si le Protecteur vous donnait ses dires par écrit et dans une forme que vous pussiez me communiquer en espérant la conclusion d'un bon traité de paix, vous prendriez sur vous de ne pas suivre mes ordres, vous m'enverriez un courrier

porteur de la réponse que le Protecteur vous donnerait, et que vous me prieriez de vous pardonner d'avoir séjourné plus longtemps à Londres. A moins de ces circonstances donc, vous ne devez pas prolonger votre séjour quand même le Protecteur vous en prierait, quand même ses ministres chercheraient à vous y faire consentir, ou que des personnes bien intentionnées vous le conseilleraient, ou qu'on voulût vous retenir ; excepté si on le fait en violation de toutes les lois, et de vive force à laquelle vous ne sauriez résister ; car, à moins qu'il n'en soit ainsi, vous ne resterez pas plus de quatre jours après la réception de cet ordre.

Si l'on vous donne un bâtiment, vous l'accepterez, mais vous n'en demanderez pas et vous ne vous arrêterez pas pour l'attendre ; d'autant plus que, comme nous sommes en paix avec la Hollande, vous pourrez effectuer votre passage sur n'importe quel bâtiment de cette nation.

A toutes les personnes à qui il vous arrivera de parler, ministres ou non, et n'importe de quel rang et condition, vous témoignerez de la peine de votre départ, en donnant à entendre que je ne me plains pas des bons et vrais Anglais et que ceux-là trouveront toujours en moi, protection, secours et accueil, parce que j'ai toujours voulu le bonheur de ce pays, que c'est à cause de cela que je veux être en bons rapports avec lui, et que j'ai fait dans ce but tant d'actes de politesse et de bienveillance envers son gouvernement, parce que j'ai toujours regardé l'Angleterre comme ma plus sûre amie, pourvu que ceux qui gouvernent s'appliquent à la rendre prospère.

Parmi les personnes de confiance que vous avez à Londres, vous en choisirez deux, sans que l'une sache rien de l'autre, et vous vous entendrez avec elles pour qu'elles vous tiennent au courant de tout ce qui se passera et vous instruisent des projets de Cromwell et de son gouvernement, et des dangers qui peuvent le menacer. Vous vous arrangerez avec ces personnes pour qu'elles vous envoient des lettres par la Hollande, ou par un autre pays jusqu'en Flandre, pour être adressées à don Estevan de Gamarra ou sur quelque autre point d'où elles pourraient parvenir à Bruxelles sûrement et promptement. A chacune de ces deux personnes vous laisserez des chiffres différents afin qu'elles puissent s'en servir au besoin ; vous

leur fixerez des appointements qui vous paraîtront convenables selon ce que ces personnes seront, en leur payant six mois d'avance afin qu'on puisse prendre ici des dispositions d'après votre avis, et que leurs gratifications soient payées selon leurs services.

En arrivant en Flandre, vous m'enverrez un rapport sur l'état des affaires en Angleterre ; quels sont les ennemis de Cromwell en Angleterre, en Ecosse et en Irlande ; quels sont les provinces et comtés qui lui sont hostiles ; quelles sont leur condition, leurs forces et leurs ressources, et ce qu'on pourrait attendre de ces provinces si on leur prêtait assistance. Je ne doute pas que vous n'ayez observé tout de manière à ce que, renseigné là-dessus, je puisse donner des ordres nécessaires.

V.—DON ALONZO DE CARDEÑAS TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

Douvres, le 8 Novembre, 1655.

SIRE,

J'AI rendu compte à V. M. de l'état où se trouvent ici les affaires et du peu d'espoir de les voir s'arranger. J'ai parlé également des démarches continuelles que je faisais pour obtenir un passeport. Ce que je puis dire aujourd'hui à V. M., c'est que l'ayant obtenu le jour suivant, dans la forme usitée pour les autres ambassadeurs, je suis parti de Londres Samedi le 6, entre 7 et 8 heures du matin, et je suis arrivé aujourd'hui dans cette ville (Douvres), d'où je m'embarquerai à bord d'une frégate de guerre que le Protecteur a mise à ma disposition pour me transporter en Flandre. C'était plus que je n'espérais, car j'avais déjà frété un navire pour effectuer mon passage ; mais comme c'était un bâtiment marchand qui n'offrait aucune sécurité à cause des courses des pirates de Calais, j'ai résolu de me servir de la frégate, conformément aux ordres de V. M consignés dans la dépêche du 10 Septembre, dans laquelle V. M. me disait de ne pas demander de bâtiment, mais de l'accepter si l'on m'en offrait un. Le même jour, ayant envoyé remercier le secrétaire d'Etat de sa dépêche, il me transmit l'ordre du Conseil portant que j'avais à sortir de ces Etats dans l'espace de quatre jours. J'ai répondu de vive voix que j'étais très-sensible à ce que le Pro-

tecteur m'aidât ainsi à remplir les ordres de V. M. avec la promptitude que je désirais moi-même, et que la cause pour laquelle je ne les avais pas exécutés était qu'on ne m'avait pas délivré les passeports que j'avais demandés.

On reconnait dans cette décision du Protecteur les allures de son régime ; après m'avoir renvoyé du jour au lendemain pendant quatorze jours pendant lesquels je renouvelais mes demandes le matin et le soir, il m'ordonne de partir tout à coup ; il veut que ce procédé accrédite dans le peuple l'opinion qu'il a vivement ressenti la demande que j'avais faite d'une audience de congé, pendant que lui-même délibérait en secret sur l'ordre qu'il allait me donner de partir d'ici, piqué qu'il était de l'embargo que V. M. a fait mettre sur les propriétés des Anglais : et comme je l'avais prévenu par ma demande avant qu'il eût pris sa résolution, le ressentiment qu'il voulait mettre au jour par cette résolution s'est trouvé amorti ; d'ailleurs il l'a fait sans nécessité et mal à propos ; à tel point que plusieurs membres de son Conseil, qui n'y ont eu aucune part, ont désapprouvé cette mesure ; aussi n'a-t-elle pas été promulguée dans les publications qui paraissent tous les jours, et je n'ai entendu personne qui en parlât. Il me fallait donc partir sur-le-champ. Avant mon départ on m'a assuré que le traité de paix avec la France était entièrement arrangé, et ici j'ai entendu dire qu'il a même déjà été signé ; le Protecteur a voulu, par la conclusion de ce traité, consoler le peuple qui avait vivement ressenti mon départ ; les négociants de Londres et des comtés de l'intérieur sont au désespoir, particuliérement ceux des comtés dans lesquels on fabrique des étoffes et des draps qui se vendent en Espagne. Ils se proposaient d'adresser des pétitions au Protecteur pour le prier d'ajuster ce différend avant mon départ ; mais cette démarche l'a irrité à tel point qu'il a ordonné, aux commandants de la milice desdits comtés et des autres, de s'informer si l'on faisait des pétitions de ce genre et de supprimer celles qui s'y feraient, ce qui a beaucoup augmenté le mécontentement de ces gens et la haine que l'on porte généralement à ce gouvernement. Le mal ne fera que s'accroître par suite de l'augmentation des impôts que le Protecteur a ordonné de sa propre autorité, procédé contraire aux loi qu'il avait juré

d'observer, car selon ces lois le Parlement seul peut voter les impôts ; aussi beaucoup de personnes croient qu'il aura grand'peine à recouvrer non seulement les impôts nouveaux, mais encore les anciens. En outre, il a ordonné de dépouiller tous ceux qui avaient servi le Roi Charles 1er d'un quart de leurs propriétés ; mais comme ces personnes craignaient depuis longtemps cette mesure, elles ont disposé d'avance de leurs biens et de leurs revenus en les transférant à des personnes tierces, au moyen de ventes faites de confiance. Tout cela n'aboutira qu'à des procès, et le Protecteur recueillera peu de profit de cet acte arbitraire.

J'attends ici demain le bâtiment qui doit me transporter en Flandre, et dès que j'y serai arrivé, je rendrai à V. M. un compte plus détaillé de l'état des choses et des intelligences qui je me suis ménagées. Que Dieu garde V. M.

VI.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 30 Septembre, 1655.

Je n'ai reçu que ce jourd'hui la lettre qu'il vous a plu de m'écrire le 22 de ce mois ; elle confirme l'avis arrivé à Londres, dès le commencement de cette semaine, par courrier exprès, de la saisie générale faite, en Espagne, des effets appartenant aux Anglais, et même de l'arrest de quelques-uns de leurs facteurs. Cette nouvelle m'obligea de changer la conduite que j'avais tenue suivant les ordres du roi depuis quelque temps ; et j'envoyai aussitôt chez l'un de mes commissaires qui m'avait fait témoigner que ce régime serait assez porté à s'unir étroitement avec la France, pour l'assurer que Sa Majesté était dans les mêmes sentiments, et que, si le Protecteur m'en faisait les ouvertures, il trouverait une entière correspondance. Ma déclaration fut reçue avec apparence de joie, et assurance que, dans peu de jours, j'aurais de ses nouvelles. Je les ai attendues jusqu'à hier au soir, et n'en recevant point, je renvoyai au même : il me manda qu'ayant fait son rapport, le Conseil avait jugé que ce serait agir avec bassesse si, après la disgrâce arrivée aux Indes, l'on me venait rechercher de la paix ; que maintenant, ne restant plus d'obstacle à notre traité, c'était à moi d'en proposer la signature, si mes ordres n'étaient point changés, et qu'à cet effet, je

n'avais qu'à demander mes commissaires. Il continua aussi de parler d'une alliance étroite, pourvu qu'elle se pût faire à des termes raisonnables ; témoignant néanmoins qu'il était au pouvoir de M. le Protecteur de s'accommoder avantageusement avec l'Espagne, dont l'ambassadeur avait fait porter parole par Barrière, et qu'une partie du Conseil inclinait assez à embrasser ce parti ; mais que leur honneur semblait s'y opposer, et que je ne devais pas, faute d'une démarche purement de cérémonie, laisser passer une occasion si favorable. Le dit sieur commissaire reçut aussi, avec assez d'approbation et remerciement, l'avis que je lui donnai, après l'avoir reçu de Son Eminence, que la saisie faite en Espagne avait pour principal fondement l'espérance d'exciter, un soulèvement en Angleterre. J'ai cru, en suite de ces discours, ne pouvoir me dispenser de faire encore quelques avances, et sur l'heure même j'ai mandé au Secrétaire d'Etat, auquel de temps en temps j'avais fait civilité sur la maladie de M le Protecteur, que maintenant, sa santé leur permettant de songer aux affaires, j'attendais mes commissaires pour mettre fin à notre accommodement ; il promit, à son ordinaire, de lui en faire son rapport, et parut, contre sa coutume, plus traitable sur quelques affaires particulières dont je lui fis parler. Si son procédé et la chaleur que témoigna ce commissaire ne sont point affectés, sans doute le traité ne sera pas désormais différé que par des propositions d'une amitié plus étroite ; elle paraît maintenant nécessaire à l'Angleterre, et si ce régime a tant de fierté qu'il veuille même me rendre poursuivant, l'on peut présumer qu'il aura de la peine à revenir des démarches qu'il a faites contre l'Espagne ; c'est l'opinion commune fondée sur ce que les ministres d'Etat ont publié. Et pour ne lui point donner prétexte par notre froideur de prendre d'autres résolutions ; j'entrerai dans toutes les ouvertures qui ne produiront point de retardement au traité déjà conclu. Les ordres et les instructions précédentes qui m'ont été envoyées m'éclaircissent assez sur toutes les demandes qui pourraient m'être faites, et il me reste seulement à être informé si Sa Majesté ne veut pas contribuer aux frais de la guerre d'Angleterre ; comme j'ai ci-devant offert assistance d'argent, il ne faut pas douter que l'on ne veuille traiter sur ces errements ; et douze ou quinze

cents mille livres tous les ans, sembleraient assez utilement employés pour ne devoir pas être regrettés s'ils pouvaient engager ce gouvernement contre ses ennemis ; quoiqu'il paraisse déjà bien embarqué, l'intérêt et l'inclination des peuples étant contraires à cette rupture, il ne laisse pas d'être à propos de fomenter, par toutes sortes de moyens honnêtes et peu préjudiciables à la France, l'emportement et la vanité du Protecteur, dont les forces peuvent faire une diversion aussi puissante qu'a été autrefois celle de la Suède et des Provinces-Unies ; et bien que son gouvernement ne soit pas si stable que celui de ces deux Etats, il ne doit pas être pour le présent moins considéré ; et devant qu'il arrive aucune révolution, nous pourrons tirer un grand avantage de son union ; elle donnera même jour à l'avenir, le Protecteur venant à manquer et la division se mettant entre les chefs de l'armée, d'appuyer les mieux intentionnés pour la France. Si je prends, monsieur, la liberté de m'étendre sur ces considérations, c'est afin d'effacer les impressions que quelques avis particuliers d'ici peuvent donner tantôt de l'instabilité du régime, tantôt de la mauvaise santé du Protecteur ; l'on peut dire que vraisemblablement l'un dépend de l'autre ; et si mes lettres n'ont pas confirmé ce qui s'est écrit du dernier, ce n'est pas manque de m'en être informé et d'en avoir su l'état. J'avoue que, dans le temps de sa chûte, il me fut dit qu'il était menacé d'une hydropisie, et l'un de ses médecins, qui l'a vu dans sa maladie, m'a confirmé que la constitution était mauvaise ; mais ces pronostics ne doivent donner aucune visée pour le temps présent.

VII.—M. DE BRIENNE TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Fontainebleau, 7 Octobre, 1655.

MONSEIGNEUR,

J'AI cru qu'il me pourrait être reproché de m'oublier de mon devoir si je n'informais Votre Eminence que, par une lettre de M. de Bordeaux, en date du 10 du mois passé, j'ai vu qu'il avait fait un compliment à l'un de ses commissaires, sur l'avis qui avait été porté à Londres que, par ordre du Roi Catholique, les biens et effets des Anglais qui s'étaient trouvés en ses royaumes avaient éte saisis. M. de Bordeaux s'était

persuadé que, donnant des assurances de la continuation de la bonne volonté que le roi a jusqu'à présent fait paraître au Protecteur et au régime d'Angleterre, c'était convier, sans en faire la demande, le Protecteur de commander à ses commissaires de signer le traité ; celui auquel il s'était adressé lui dit que, si l'Angleterre n'était recherchée de le faire, elle aurait peine de s'y disposer, touchée de crainte qu'il pût être dit que le peu de fortune que son armée avait eue aux Indes l'y avait obligée, ce qui lui tournerait à honte ; mais qu'il ne mettait point en doute, si, en une audience demandée pour ce seul sujet, il en faisait instance à M. le Protecteur, qu'il ne fût pour y consentir ; ce discours a eu tant de force sur M. de Bordeaux, que bien qu'il me mande que cela lui a été défendu, il me paraît disposé d'exécuter le conseil qui lui a été donné. Je lui ai écrit que je doutais que Votre Eminence en pût demeurer satisfaite, et qu'il fallait (sans un ordre reçu de vous, Monseigneur, depuis que vous êtes en Picardie) qu'il eût des lumières qui n'avaient pas été assez éclatantes pour venir jusqu'à nous ; que moyennant ce compliment, le Protecteur déclarerait la guerre aux Espagnols en Europe, et continuerait à la leur faire aux Indes Occidentales, et que je devais l'avertir de ne faire pas le second pas, s'il était en état de s'en garantir, ni sans un commandement bien précis, offrir de l'argent, à quoi il me paraît très disposé. Si je me suis trop avancé, Votre Eminence aura agréable de me le faire savoir, et à M. de Bordeaux ce qu'il aura à faire.

VIII.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 4 Novembre, 1655.

. . . . . NOTRE conférence finit par des souhaits mutuels que le traité put rétablir à jamais une véritable amitié entre les deux nations ; s'il a perdu sa grâce par la longue attente, il semble que la rupture avec l'Espagne lui doive donner de nouveaux agréments. Je n'eus pas sitôt fait savoir à mes commissaires que j'étais disposé à signer, qu'il fut envoyé à l'ambassadeur de cette couronne passeport aux termes qu'il le poursuivait, et même, ordre à un vaisseau de l'Etat de le passer. Il n'a pas laissé de me faire demander cette après-

dînée mon passeport, et prier de lui faire tenir celui du roi, s'il arrive devant que son vaisseau soit sorti de la rivière. Celui qui m'a vu de sa part assure qu'il partira demain pour Douvres, et que s'étant trouvé avec lui, lorsque la signature du traité lui a été mandée, il a remarqué tel changement dans sa parole et dans son visage que l'on pouvait juger qu'il s'était, jusqu'à ce moment, attendu à quelque renouement ; et il est assez vraisemblable que ce régime l'avait toujours tenu en espérance afin de me donner de la jalousie. Présentement toutes les pensées semblent tourner à la guerre, et les préparatifs d'un grand armement naval se continuent. Cette résolution ne peut point avoir été prise sans former un dessein de s'unir plus étroitement avec la France.

IX.—M. DE BRIENNE TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Paris, 8 Novembre, 1655.

Il a été rapporté à M. de Bordeaux que l'ambassadeur d'Espagne n'avait su céler son étonnement et son chagrin de ce que l'accommodement d'entre la France et l'Angleterre avait été résolu ; mais jusqu'à ce qu'il soit suivi d'un autre et que les deux Etats s'engagent à faire la guerre à l'Espagne, il ne sera pas sans espérance d'en conclure un à son tour avec le Protecteur, qui en serait pressé par les marchands Anglais. C'est ce que j'ai recueilli de la dépêche de M. de Bordeaux, datée du 4e du courant, et des discours que m'a tenus ce gentilhomme, et qu'il serait du service de Sa Majesté, sur les sommes notables qui sont dues à M. de Bordeaux, qu'il lui fut donné en argent comptant au moins dix mille écus, afin que les lettres de change qu'il a été contraint de tirer fassent acquittées, et quelque partie de la dépense dont il est demeuré en arriére ; mais bien que la demande soit juste, il n'en saurait obtenir l'effet si Votre Eminence n'a la bonté d'en écrire à MM. les Surintendants. J'ai été prié de vous faire cette supplication, et je m'y suis volontiers accommodé par des considérations du service de Sa Majesté qui serait blessé si l'on protestait des lettres et que l'ambassadeur fut réduit à engager sa vaisselle d'argent pour satisfaire à ses créanciers.

APPENDIX XXI.

(Page 238.)

I.—DON ALONZO DE CARDEÑAS TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

Bruxelles, 25 Mars, 1656.

SIRE,

J'AI rendu compte à V. M. que son Altesse l'Archiduc ayant consenti à ce que le Roi Charles d'Angleterre vint secrètement ici, nous l'avons vu par ordre de S. A. le Comte de Fuensaldaña et moi ; j'ai également rendu compte à V. M. de ce qui s'est passé entre nous jusqu'au moment où le Roi Charles s'est retiré à Louvain, après nous avoir promis de nous envoyer deux personnes de sa confiance pour arranger quelque traité. Ce que je puis annoncer maintenant à V. M. c'est que le roi, ayant envoyé ici le Marquis d'Ormond et le Comte de Rochester accompagnés du Résident de Vic, Ceux-ci nous ont remis une note contenant des propositions dont je joins copie pour l'information de V. M. avec la réponse que S. A. a ordonné de lui donner. Les commissaires l'ont aussitôt communiquée au Roi (Charles), et deux jours après ils sont venus à mon hôtel où se trouvait aussi le Comte de Fuensaldaña ; ils ont exprimé de la part de leur maître des remercîments pour les bonnes dispositions où était V. M. de l'appuyer dans le but de recouvrer sa couronne, et ont déclaré que si Dieu la lui rendait, il ferait beaucoup pour le service de V. M. On les en a remerciés comme il convenait, et là-dessus ils ont demandé qu'on rédigeât tout de suite les articles d'un traité dans le sens de la réponse qui venait de leur être donnée ; ils ont demandé qu'une alliance offensive et défensive et une amitié intime entre les deux couronnes (d'Espagne et d'Angleterre) fussent conclues ; mais après avoir considéré que dans l'état où se trouve aujourd'hui le Roi Charles il lui serait impossible de remplir aucun engagement tel que les circonstances l'exigeraient et tel qu'il ne saurait rien faire jusqu'à ce qu'il soit remis en possession de ses états, il nous a paru que pour le moment il suffisait d'établir des rapports d'amitié et de bonne intelligence, seulement pour le

cas où il serait rétabli sur le trône. Il convient toutefois de faire dès aujourd'hui, pour cette éventualité, la ligue et l'alliance qu'ils demandent, car si on remettait la conclusion jusqu'à cette époque, il est à présumer qu'on ne la réglerait pas alors sans difficulté, car du temps des rois l'Angleterre y a toujours suscité des obstacles par suite des négociations de la France, et aussi des efforts par lesquels des ministres dévoués à cette puissance ont toujours cherché à entraver une pareille alliance.

Dès que le traité sera rédigé, il sera communiqué à V. M. afin qu'elle daigne le ratifier, et je rendrai à V. M. un compte particulier de ce qui me paraitra à cet égard.

Les lettres d'Angleterre, arrivées ici cette semaine, ne contiennent rien de neuf si ce n'est la nouvelle du danger que le Protecteur a couru dernièrement, lorsque la voiture dans laquelle il se trouvait a passé une petite rivière nommée Zimba ; trois chevaux et le postillon qui les conduisait ont été noyés. On parle beaucoup là dessus.

La flotte n'était pas encore partie car les équipages demandaient, dit-on, un autre chef plus à leur goût, et ensuite par ce qu'on manquait d'argent pour équipper les bâtiments comme il faut et les faire partir. Le peuple le montrait très indigné des prises faites par la marine de Dunkerque et d'Ostende, où l'on venait d'en faire plus de trente sur les Anglais ; si cela continue, le commerce Anglais sera considérablement entravé.

Le Protecteur avait résolu d'envoyer un agent à Lisbonne afin que celui-ci, conjointement avec le consul Anglais, prête assistance aux négociants Anglais qui se trouvent en Portugal.

Il a été proposé au Conseil d'offrir à la France de lui envoyer six mille Anglais qui seraient sur le même pied et recevraient la même paie que les Suisses au service de la France ; ou pouvoir cette année encore assièger Gravelines. On a décidé de faire cette proposition à l'ambassadeur de France (Burdeos, Bourdeaux), que l'on attendait à Londres, de retour de Paris. Que Dieu garde V. M.

II.—THE ARCHDUKE LEOPOLD TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

Bruxelles, le 8 Avril, 1656.

S. R. M. (Sacrée Majesté Royale),

CETTE semaine j'ai reçu par la voie secrète une lettre de V. M. du 20 Janvier, et je ne sais ce qui a pu occasioner ce retard. Dans cette lettre, V. M. me dit que quelques Anglais qui se trouvaient en Flandres ont dit à Don Estevan de Gamarra que, si on admettait dans ces ports quelques navires munis de lettres de marque du Roi d'Angleterre, il se trouverait beaucoup de personnes qui se déclareraient pour lui et que ce serait une grande diversion et un acte très désavantageux pour Cromwell. J'ai déjà dit quelques mots à ce sujet à V. M. à l'occasion des ordres que j'avais donnés d'armer tous les sujets de V. M. qui désireraient le faire pour nuire aux Anglais, aux Français, et aux Portugais ; mais maintenant je me suis décidé à réunir un Conseil auquel serait communiquée la lettre de V. M., qui délibérerait sur ce que dit V. M., et prononcerait sur ce qu'il y aurait à faire. Par le courrier ordinaire qui partira d'ici dans quelques jours, il sera répondu avec plus de précision à la lettre de V. M., et je puis l'assurer que, tant que je resterai ici, je ne négligerais rien de ce qui peut être utile à son service. Mais le manque de moyens dans lequel on a été ici a retardé les préparatifs de la campagne ; et quoiqu'il soit arrivé des lettres (de credit) de trois cent mille écus, les besoins ont été si grands et les débourses si nombreux qu'on a bientôt vu que la somme était très-insuffisante et qu'on ne pourra pas faire grand chose avec cet argent. Toutefois, on cherchera à l'employer aux préparatifs de la campagne et à faire de telle sorte qu'on en tire le plus d'avantage possible. S'il est vrai, comme on le dit ici, que la flotte est arrivée, il y aura quelque possibilité de nous assister et de nous faire sortir des embarras où nous nous trouvons, peut-être même de faire en sorte qu'on puisse opposer une résistance plus vigoureuse à l'ennemi. S'il est vrai, comme le bruit en court, que le Roi de Pologne a donné une bonne leçon à celui de Suède, qui, dit-on, en a été fort maltraité, on croit que cela changera considérablement l'état des choses, et que le Protecteur d'Angleterre rabattra beau-

coup de son orgueil actuel, car il comptait sans doute sur les avantages qu'avait remportés le Roi de Suède.

Je m'occupé des préparatifs de mon voyage, et je compte pouvoir le faire après Pâques ; en attendant, le Seigneur Don Juan arrivera, mais comme mes créanciers mé pressent beaucoup pour être payés intégralement de tout ce qui leur est dû, je crains qu'ils ne me suscitent des embarras, et que, usant de leurs priviléges, ils ne me fassent quelque affront en saisissant mon équipage et mon mobilier ; c'est ce qui m'oblige de prier V. M. aussi instamment que possible de vouloir bien me faire remettre en une assignation spéciale cent mille écus, comme j'en ai déjà prié V. M. la semaine passée dans une lettre écrite par moi-même ; avec cette somme et les autres que je pourrai réunir de dix pour cent que V. M. avait bien voulu m'accorder, je pourrai faire face aux dépenses les plus urgentes ; ensuite on continuera de payer petit à petit tout ce qui est dû. J'ose espérer de la magnanimité de V. M. qu'elle ne souffrira pas qu'on me fasse ici un affront, comme celui que peuvent me faire mes créanciers, et qu'elle me fera envoyer un secours de cent mille écus comme je prie V. M. de le faire. Notre Seigneur, etc.

III.—DON ALONZO DE CARDEÑAS TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

Bruxelles, le 29 Juillet, 1656.

SIRE,

J'AI reçu par le courrier ordinaire d'Espagne la lettre de V. M. de 5 Juin ainsi que la ratification du traité conclu avec le Roi Charles II. d'Angleterre le 12 Avril et transmis par moi à V. M. le 19 du même mois. Après avoir pris connaissance des ordres que V. M. avait bien voulu me donner pour que je détournasse le Roi Charles de son projet de continuer son séjour dans ces provinces et que je l'engageasse à retourner à Cologne jusqu'à ce qu'il trouve occasion de passer en Angleterre, je dois représenter à V. M. ce qui me parait à ce sujet. Lorsque du temps de l'Archiduc Léopold une réponse dans ce sens fut faite au Roi Charles, réponse dans laquelle on lui conseillait de retourner à Cologne ; il l'accueillit fort mal, trouva mauvais qu'on lui refusât la permission de

séjourner dans ce pays et ajôuta qu'il ne pouvait retourner à Cologne sans compromettre son honneur, sa dignité, et sans nuire à ses intérêts. Il a parlé dans le même sens au C^te^. de Fuensaldaña, et ses ministres me l'ont répété depuis plusieurs fois, en faisant valoir plusieurs arguments et en donnant pour certaine la ruine du parti que le Roi a en Angleterre, en Ecosse, et en Irlande, si on le voyait aujourd'hui quitter ce pays pour choisir un autre séjour, car le seul fait, que le Roi se trouve dans le voisinage des ports des Flandres, donne à ses partisans en Angleterre du courage ; ils souffrent patiemment toutes les rigueurs du régime de Cromwell dans l'espoir d'un meilleur sort, et ils restent unis. Les ministres du Roi Charles ont également fait valoir les grands avantages du séjour du Roi dans ce pays pour le service de V. M., en disant que ce voisinage empêchait le Protecteur d'envoyer sa flotte aux Indes et le contraindrait de finir par renoncer à ce projet ; il l'éxécuterait au contraire si le Roi s'en allait d'ici, car alors les partisans du Roi désespéreraient de tout, s'arrangeraient de leur mieux avec Cromwell, et le Roi serait mis à jamais dans l'impossibilité de recouvrer sa couronne. Le Roi Charles est si loin de vouloir partir d'ici, que son chancelier me remit il y a deux jours une note que S. A. l'Archiduc Don Juan enverra à V. M. et dans laquelle le Roi demande que le traité soit publié et qu'on lui permette de ne plus garder *l'incognito ;* il pense que cela seul suffirait à entretenir le courage de son parti et à inquiéter Cromwell. Quant à moi, n'espérant plus pouvoir lui faire abandonner cette manière devoir, je n'ai plus voulu aborder avec lui cette question jusqu'à ce que l'Archiduc Don Juan prenne une résolution à cet égard ; je lui ai rendu compte de l'état des choses comme je le fais à V. M. en ajoutant que ce serait perdre son temps que de vouloir persuader au Roi Charles de retourner à Cologne, et que S. A. jugerait sans doute plus convenable de ne plus lui en parler, car cela ne ferait que l'affliger. Donc, comme le Roi restera ici il sera d'autant plus nécessaire de lui fixer une pension de trois mille écus par mois, somme que V. M. lui avait fixée lorsqu'il se trouvait dans le besoin, et en quoi S. A. l'Archiduc s'était conformé à l'avis de V. M. Comme S. A. avait fait savoir que V. M. avait ordonné de payer au Roi un secours chaque mois,

elle m'a ordonné de faire savoir au Résident du Roi que ce serait trois mille écus par mois ; et c'est ce que je vais éxécuter sur le champ.

Le jour de l'arrivée de la dernière dépêche de V. M. a été le 12 Juillet, jour où expirait le délai de trois mois fixé pour la ratification du traité ; aussi, pour ne pas perdre de temps, j'ai envoyé sur le champ mon secrétaire interprête à Bruges porteur du traité ratifié par V. M. en lui ordonnant de recevoir la ratification du Roi au moment où il lui remettrait celle-ci, comme c'est l'usage, et c'est ce qui a été fait ; le secrétaire me l'a apportée et je la transmets à V. M. avec la présente. Le secrétaire m'a raconté qu'au moment même où le Roi apprenait l'arrivée de la ratification, on recevait la nouvelle du succès des armes de V. M. à Valenciennes et que la joie que le Roi et tous ceux qui sont avec lui en ont témoignée était au delà de toute expression. Le Roi pensait que les intérêts des deux couronnes étant les mêmes en vertu du traité qui venait d'être conclu, il était dans son intérêt que les armes de V. M. triomphassent lors même qu'on n'arriverait pas par là à lui procurer de l'appui qui lui a été promis.

D'après les nouvelles d'Angleterre, le Protecteur a résolu de réunir le Parlement pour le 17 Septembre, et il a déjà envoyé des lettres de convocations dans les comtés afin qu'on procédat à l'élection de ceux qui ont droit de siéger au Parlement ; c'est la meilleure preuve des embarras où il se trouve puis qu'il expose encore une fois ses affaires aux dangers qu'elles ont courus toutes les fois qu'il avait réuni un Parlement au point qu'il a été toujours obligé de les dissoudre l'un après l'autre.

On dit aussi qu'un ordre très secret avait été expédié à Blake afin qu'il envoie six bâtiments de guerre à la Jamaïque, et que Blake, ayant refusé de l'exécuter, le Protecteur est très indigné contre lui, et qu'il a fait prendre des mesures pour préparer d'autres navires, au nombre de six, pour les envoyer dans cette Ile.—Notre Seigneur garde, etc.

IV.—OPINION OF THE SPANISH COUNCIL OF STATE ON THE DESPATCHES OF DON ALONZO DE CARDEÑAS, IN REGARD TO THE AFFAIRS OF CHARLES II., KING OF ENGLAND.

Madrid, 7 Mai, 1656.

SIRE,

DON ALONZO DE CARDEÑAS informe V. M. que le Roi d'Angleterre, conformément à ce qui avait été convenu antérieurement, à envoyé auprès de lui le Marquis d'Ormond et le Comte de Rochester accompagnés du Resident de Vic pour conclure un traité, et que ces deux commissaires du Roi lui ont remis une note contenant des propositions dont il envoie la copie à V. M. avec celle de la réponse que S. A. l'Archiduc avait décidé de leur donner; il rapporte ensuite que les deux commissaires ayant communiqué cette réponse au Roi, sont venu deux jours après à l'hôtel de Don Alonzo où se trouvait également le Comte de Fuensaldaña, et l'ont remercié, de la part de leur souverain, de la bonne disposition que V. M. avait témoignée de vouloir aider le Roi Charles à recouvrer sa couronne; ils ont insisté en même temps sur la nécessité de rédiger aussitôt les articles du traité, et de conclure une alliance défensive et offensive ainsi qu'une amitié intime entre les deux couronnes (d'Espagne et d'Angleterre). Don Alonzo ajoute à ce sujet que le traité une fois conclu il sera envoyé à V. M. afin qu'elle daigne le ratifier.

Le Conseil d'Etat, auquel ont pris part les Marquis de Valparaiso et de Velada, les Comtes de Peñaranda et d'Onate, le Duc d'Albe et le Marquis de Los Balbases, ayant pris connaissance de la lettre de Don Alonzo, représente à V. M. que les Ministres de Flanders ont donné aux ordres émanés d'ici à cet égard plus d'extension que la pensée de V. M. n'en comportait selon la proposition faite par le Conseil d'Etat; car le conseil n'a jamais cru qu'une amitié intime puisse être surement établi avec le Roi d'Angleterre qui à vu que, depuis la mort de son père, V. M. à traité avec le gouvernement Anglais et avec Cromwell jusqu'à ce que celui-ci ait le premier rompu avec V. M.; le Roi Charles doit en être profondément offensé, et d'ailleurs, aujourd'hui, il n'a pas de moyens suffisants pour conclure une alliance avec des engagements de la part de V. M. tels que ceux que les commissaires

les demandaient ; et quoique les Ministres (de Flandres) aient, par ordre de S. A. l'Archiduc, répondu avec des reserves, le traité n'en reste pas moins à l'état de pouvoir être repris et conclu. Dans ce traité il y a surtout de ceci de grave à remarquer, que, si on permettait d'établir dans les provinces de Flandre des dépôts pour les partisans du Roi, on se créerait une nouvelle difficulté pareille à celle qu'on à eue avec les troupes du Duc de Lorraine et à celle qu'on à encore aujourd'hui avec celles du Prince de Condé. C'est encore une chose grave que d'accueillir la demande des commissaires Anglais pendant à ce qu'on désigne dans les états de V. M. une résidence pour le Roi d'Angleterre, attendu qu'il ne pourrait résider dans aucun endroit sans qu'il resultât de réels préjudices, beaucoup de frais, et même un grand danger si cette résidence était fixée dans un port ou dans une place forte exposée à quelque coup de main qui pourrait se tramer à l'aide des partisans du Roi Charles lui-même parmi lesquels Cromwell ne manquera pas d'avoir des affidés. Quoique ce point ne soit pas accordé dans le traité et qu'il reste soumis au bon plaisir de V. M. il ne pourra qu'en résulter un vif ressentiment contre V. M. si cette demande est refusée comme elle devra l'être par toutes les raisons politiques. En vérité, le Conseil d'Etat n'espère pas beaucoup de cette négociation, bien qu'il faille chercher tous les moyens pour nuire à Cromwell et à l'Angleterre. Ceux qui traitent cette affaire devraient mesurer les obligations que l'on contracterait, les moyens dont disposent ceux avec qui on traite, pour atteindre le but qu'on se propose ; et on ne voit ni dans la lettre de Don Alonzo ni dans la note qui l'accompagne que les commissaires du Roi Charles aient indiqué quoi que ce soit de positif au sujet des provinces, places, ou autres corps quelconque sur lesquels le Roi Charles puisse appuyer les efforts qu'on ferait en sa faveur.

Au talal, le Conseil d'Etat est d'avis qu'il serait dans l'intérêt du service de V. M. de faire penser à tout cela en Flandre sans perdre un seul instant, afin que, si l'arrangement n'est pas encore conclu, on fit attention à ces points qu'on signale ici, et surtout afin que, en obtenant du Roi d'Angleterre des informations sur les moyens dont il dispose tant en

Angleterre qu'au dehors, pour recouvrer sa couronne, on lui fit observer que son séjour en Flandre n'est pas propre aux communications entre ses partisans et aux négociations avec eux, vu la rupture survenue entre nous et les Anglais ; qu'il pourra bien plutôt entretenir des rapports avec ses partisans et amis étant en Hollande ou ailleurs, d'où l'on pourra le faire venir sans difficulté ni danger, qu'il pourra avoir avec ses amis des rapports plus fréquents pour les diriger et se servir d'eux avec plus de facilité, étant partout ailleurs qu'en Flandre.

Dans le cas où le traité serait déjà conclu et transmis à V. M. (ce qui est possible) avant que ces observations parviennent en Flandre, le Conseil d'Etat, à qui il serait encore renvoyé, pourrait exprimer son opinion avec plus de développements et la motiver plus complétement. Du reste V. M. ordonnera ce qui lui plaira.

V.—NOTE CONTAINING CERTAIN POINTS RELATIVE TO THE TREATY BETWEEN THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE KING OF SPAIN, SUGGESTED ON THE PART OF THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, AND ACCOMPANIED BY THE LETTER OF DON ALONZO DE CARDEÑAS TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

29 Juillet, 1656.

Le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, qui a reçu avec la plus grande joie la ratification du traité et qui regarde l'amitié de sa Majesté très Catholique comme un bienfait que Dieu tout puissant lui a envoyé pour être le fondement de son bonheur futur et le moyen le plus sur de recouvrer sa couronne, desire infiniment que ce témoignage d'affection et des bonnes dispositions de S. M. très Catholique pour sa personne et pour ses intérêts puisse être porté à la connaissance publique le plus tôt possible par des actes qui mettent ces dispositions au grand jour, comme par exemple en accordant au Roi la permission de séjourner dans un port de mer, ou en prenant ostensiblement connaissance du séjour de S. M. le Roi de la Grande Bretagne dans ce pays, en le dispensant de garder l'incognito et autres manifestations semblables. Ceci donnerait au Roi de la Grande Bretagne non seulement du crédit et du relief auprès des autres souverains dont plusieurs ont promis de l'appuyer par

des sommes d'argent et par d'autres moyens dès qu'il serait appuyé par quelque monarque puissant, mais encore ranimerait tellement le courage des hommes de son parti en Angleterre que tous seraient beaucoup plus empressés à exécuter ses ordres, et alors on verrait que ce parti est plus considérable et plus puissant que tout autre, et la plupart des personnes des autres partis se joindraient à celui du Roi et chercheraient à défendre ses intérêts dès qu'elles verraient que S. M. T. Catholique appuie et protège le Roi de la Grande Bretagne. Le Roi convient qu'il est bon que les articles du traité restent secrets, car il est de l'intérêt de L. L. M. M. qu'ils le soient, et qu'ils ne soient communiqués d'aucune façon à qui que ce soit, mais la publication et la déclaration du fait de la conclusion (d'autant plus que le traité conclu par les délégués des deux souverains a été ratifié par S. M. T. C.) sans donner les détails et sans dire que S. M. T. C. appuiera le Roi de la Grande Bretagne contre leur ennemi commun, est si essentiellement nécessaire qu'on ne saurait sans cette base ni accomplir les préparatifs nécessaires pour le but principal, ni disposer les amis à tenter des entreprises utiles. D'un autre côté aussi il est impossible que les armements et les préparatifs que Cromwell ferait sur la simple connaissance que quelque chose a été convenu entre L. L. M. M. (le Roi Charles et le Roi d'Espagne) causent au Roi de la Grande Bretagne un préjudice égal à celui que causerait au peuple (Anglais) la perte de tout espoir ou la croyance qu'il n'existe aucun traité ni arrangement. En effet les ennemis de S. M. cherchent par tous les moyens et par tous les artifices à persuader aux peuples de la Grande Bretagne que S. M. T. C. n'a aucune intention d'assister le Roi d'Angleterre. Il est donc nécessaire que S. M. s'efforce par tous les moyens de tirer ses peuples de cette erreur en leur faisant connaitre le contraire.

VI.—OPINION OF THE SPANISH COUNCIL OF STATE ON THE CONTENTS OF THE ENCLOSED LETTER FROM DON ALONZO DE CARDEÑAS.

Madrid, 19 Septembre, 1656.

Don Alonzo de Cardeñas a transmis, avec la lettre qu'il a adressée à V. M. le 29 Juillet, la ratification du traité conclu entre V. M. et le Roi Charles II. d'Angleterre ; à cette

occasion, il dit qu'il ne lui a pas paru convenable d'engager le Roi Charles à discontinuer son séjour dans ce pays là, attendu que lorsqu'on lui avait écrit à ce sujet du temps de l'Archiduc Léopold pour lui conseiller de retourner à Cologne il avait fort mal accueilli la proposition, trouvant mauvais qu'on ne lui permit pas d'y rester. Don Alonzo envoie également une copie de la note contenant certains points relatifs au traité et remise à Don Alonzo de Cardeñas de la part du Roi Charles. Le roi demande que le traité soit porté à la connaissance du public, dans la forme et par des considérations qu'il explique. Don Alonzo dit avoir rendu compte de tout à S. A. l'Archiduc Don Juan ainsi que V. M. le verra en détail par les lettres ci incluses et les papiers qui l'accompagnaient.

Le Conseil d'Etat auquel ont pris part le Duc de San Lucar, les Marquis de Valparaiso et de Velada, les Comtes de Peñaranda et d'Onate, le Duc d'Alba, le Marquis de los Balbases et l'Archevêque de Saragosse, rappelle que lorsque Don Alonzo eut rendu compte à V. M. de l'intention où était le Roi Charles de fixer son séjour en Flandre (c'était à l'époque où il transmit le traité conclu avec lui), le Conseil a représenté à V. M. qu'à son avis il serait plus convenable que le Roi Charles continuât à séjourner à Cologne, attendu que son expédition en Angleterre n'était pas encore assez prochaine pour exiger sa présence dans le voisinage, et parce qu'en séjournant en Flandre il serait sans aucun doute entouré d'affidés de Cromwell et du Cardinal Mazarin, en apparence attachés à ses intérêts mais au grand préjudice de sa cause et au détriment du service de V. M., puis qu'il y aurait au cœur même des pays de Flandre beaucoup d'espions et d'ennemis cachés. Par ces motifs, on avait ordonné à Don Alonzo de chercher à détourner le Roi Charles de son projet en lui donnant à entendre que lorsque le Roi aurait pris toutes ses dispositions et serait en état de tenter une expédition, il pourrait alors passer en Flandre et y séjourner jusqu'au moment de son passage en Angleterre avec les forces qu'il aurait à sa disposition, que la différence du temps nécessaire pour s'y rendre de Cologne ou des provinces de Flandre, n'était pas de plus de deux ou trois jours de voyage, ce qui ne pouvait en aucune manière être un obstacle à ses intelligences et à ses négociations.

Une copie de la dépêche dans laquelle etaient consignées ces observations a été envoyée à l'Archiduc Don Juan, mais il n'y a pas encore répondu. Comme le Conseil d'Etat est toujours de la même opinion, et comme il croit le séjour du Roi Charles en Flandre, pour le moment, préjudiciable au service de V. M., et en supposant que la lettre de Don Alonzo ne demande pas une réponse très pressée, le Conseil est d'avis qu'il faut attendre ce que l'Archiduc Don Juan écrira à ce sujet, et lorsqu'il l'aura fait, V. M. voudra bien ordonner que l'on reprenne en considération et la dépêche actuelle et ce que l'Archiduc aura écrit, afin que le Conseil puisse, après plus ample information, proposer à V. M. ce qui lui paraitra le plus avantageux pour le service de V. M.

De la main du Roi : "C'est bien."

VII.—OPINION OF THE SPANISH COUNCIL OF STATE ON THE CONTENTS OF SEVERAL LETTERS FROM THE ARCHDUKE DON JOHN, DON ALONZO DE CARDEÑAS, AND THE KING OF ENGLAND.

Madrid, le 16 Septembre, 1656.

SIRE,

DANS la séance du Conseil d'Etat, à laquelle ont assisté le Duc de San Lucar, les Comtes de Peñaranda et d'Oñato, le Duc d'Albe et le Marquis de los Balbases, on a pris connaissance, conformément aux ordres de V. M., de trois lettres de l'Archiduc Don Juan portant les dates du 29 Août, du 12 Septembre, et du 8 Octobre (les deux premières pour V. M., et la troisième pour Don Louis de Haro) ; d'une lettre de Don Alonzo de Cardeñas à V. M., en date du 8 Octobre, et d'une lettre du Roi d'Angleterre du 26 Août.

L'Archiduc Don Juan et Don Alonzo rendent un compte particulier des propositions qui leur ont été faites de la part du Roi d'Angleterre au sujet des levées d'hommes, de ses sollicitations pressantes pour qu'on l'aidât à une expedition en Angleterre et des réponses qui ont été faites aux commissaires et agents du Roi Charles. Ils rapportent également que le Duc d'York était arrivé à Bruges et que les Anglais demandaient avec instance des logements pour les Irlandais qui devaient arriver ; qu'on avait déjà donné des logements pour deux cents hommes ; qu'on a donné quelques subsides men-

suels au Roi et au Marquis d'Ormond. L'Archiduc demande qu'on lui fasse savoir comment il doit agir en supposant que l'expedition projetée en Angleterre dépende des paiements qui se font d'ici (d'Espagne) séparément pour l'expédition et pour le Roi.

Quant au Roi Charles, il répond à la lettre que V. M. lui a écrite, pour remercier V. M et de la lettre et de la ratification du traité conclu avec lui.

Le Conseil d'Etat après avoir considéré tout cela avec beaucoup d'attention, s'est fait représenter le traité conclu par V. M. avec le Roi de la Grande Bretagne pour connaître au juste à quoi V. M. est tenue, et dans quels cas et de quelle manière. Le Conseil voit que dans l'article 3, où il est question des secours que V. M. doit donner au Roi, on lit les mots suivants : "Il est bien entendu que S. M. le Roi de la Grande Bretagne devra avoir en Angleterre un port, ou place, ou autre endroit qui lui soit dévoué et où il puisse débarquer en sureté ces troupes." Le Conseil voit dans ces mots du traité la réponse la plus raisonnable qu'on puisse faire aux demandes du Roi et de ses ministres ; on suppose qu'avant de risquer des hommes, des navires et des sommes d'argent, le Roi aura un endroit sûr où il pourra débarquer pour que le traité ait son effet ; tant que cela n'a pas lieu, il n'existe aucune obligation réciproque qui doive naître de ce commencement. Le Conseil est d'avis que cette réponse était assez naturelle pour que Don Alonzo de Cardeñas eut pu la donner, et c'eût été fort à propos, car, donnée par Don Alonzo dans la conversation même qui avait lieu sur les demandes et les réponses qu'on pouvait y faire, elle n'aurait pu être interpretée comme un moyen de délai et comme indiquant une arrière-pensée dans les promesses faites par V. M. Il eut mieux valu faire alors cette réponse que de fournir aux Anglais un motif de croire que les difficultés viennent d'ici, parcequ'en Flandre on n'aurait pas d'abord assez réfléchi ou qu'on les aurait jugées plus faciles à surmonter.

Le Conseil croit que cette excuse (basée sur les mots du traité) est fort légitime en considérant combien il est impossible de distraire un corps de six mille hommes d'une armée déjà assez peu nombreuse qui reste en Flandre, ou de

débourser une somme suffisante pour faire des levées aussi considérables.

Le Conseil ne peut s'empêcher de faire ressortir les inconvénients qui peuvent résulter du séjour du Roi Charles à Bruges ; c'est déjà quelque chose que l'arrivée de son frère et le secours que l'Archiduc Don Juan a été obligé de lui augmenter ainsi que le subside donné au Marquis d'Ormond, ce qui fait cinq mille écus par mois ; ce ne sont pas là les plus grands inconvénients ; la principale difficulté consiste en ce que on va aborder la question des cautionnements et des levées d'hommes ; on a déjà vu qu'ils avaient demandé des logements pour cinq cents hommes ; il est facile de voir que ceux-ci seront suivis d'autres qui peuvent causer de grands embarras et produire avec le temps des préjudices irréparables. Le Conseil entend la question des logements et des levées d'hommes de telle manière que lorsque la nécessité se présentera de leur donner les six mille hommes qu'on leur a promis, il y aurait moins de mal à affaiblir les forces propres de V. M. jusqu'à concurrence de ce chiffre qu'à consentir à ce que le Roi ait une armée ou un corps d'armée à lui, au sein même des provinces de V. M. Il est evident aussi que le Roi d'Angleterre, en faisant de nouvelles levées, diminuera d'autant le nombre des troupes de V. M. Car si l'on donne aux troupes du Roi des logements, comme on a déjà commencé à le faire, et que les troupes de V. M. restent dans les places frontières, comme on en a également parlé, tout le monde s'en ira pour entrer dans les troupes et les logements du Roi d'Angleterre. On ne peut pas s'empêcher de s'étonner qu'on se soit engagé dans des embarras aussi évidents, aussi palpables, puis qu'il n'y a rien dans le traité qui oblige V. M. à donner des logements, et il faut avouer que tout cela est contraire au bien du service de V. M., que c'est une source de dépenses et d'embarras et une mesure dont les Français pourront tirer les plus grands avantages de plusieurs manières, tant à cause des inconvénients signalés plus haut, qu'à cause de l'occasion qu'elle fournira au Roi Très Chrétien et à ses ministres de s'unir de plus en plus intimement à Cromwell après avoir éloigné d'eux le Roi d'Angleterre et son frère qui avaient toujours été pour le Protecteur un sujet de crainte et

de méfiance. D'ailleurs les faits prouvent combien le Roi Charles a peu de partisans et d'autorité, puis que on n'a pas appris que, depuis six mois qu'il séjourne à Bruges, il se soit déclaré pour lui un seul navire ou un seul homme.

Le Conseil est d'avis que, lorsqu'on répondra aux lettres sus mentionnées de l'Archiduc Don Juan et de Don Alonzo de Cardeñas, il serait nécessaire de leur faire connaître les observations du Conseil afin qu'ils aient connaissance de ce qu'on pense ici et afin qu'ils agissent dans ces affaires avec modération ; car ils courraient vers un précipice manifeste s'ils n'usaient de la plus grande circonspection.

Quant au Roi d'Angleterre, le Conseil est d'avis que V. M. lui dise qu'elle desire que le cas prévu par le traité arrive, dès qu'un port ou une place quelconque ou un parti se déclarerait pour le Roi d'Angleterre, et qu'alors V. M. ordonnera d'accomplir tout ce qu'on a promis quand même l'armée de V. M. devrait se trouver parlà réduite au plus petit nombre, mais qu'une action et l'exécution des promesses qui pourraient causer tant de préjudice à V. M. ne sauraient avoir lieu jusqu'à ce que des faits préalables, conduisant au bon résultat que V. M. désire, aient lieu ; que V. M. ne s'est pas engagée à donner des logements puis qu'elle n'en a pas pour ses propres troupes comme tout le monde le sait ; de même que V. M. ne peut pas permettre qu'on fasse des levées d'hommes dans ces provinces, attendu qu'elles ne pourraient guère se faire, excepté à l'aide d'hommes qui abandonneraient les drapeaux de V. M. pour s'enrôler sous ceux du Roi.

V. M. ordonnera là dessus ce qui lui plaira.

APPENDIX XXII.

(Pages 241, 243.)

I.—CARDINAL MAZARIN'S INSTRUCTIONS TO M. DE BORDEAUX, ON HIS EMBASSY TO LONDON.

Paris, 9 Février, 1656.

TRAVAILLER incessamment et faire toute diligence pour avoir les mémoires des prises qui ont été faites par les Anglais depuis l'année 1647, sans oublier celle des vaisseaux

du Roi qui ont été pris allant au secours de Dunkerque, mettre aussi la Jule qui fut pris sur les côtes de Portugal.

Il faudra ajouter tous ces mémoires à ceux que l'on a déjà assemblés des prises faites par les Anglais jusques à l'année 1647.

Il faut considerer que si on ne fait cela au plutôt, toute la peine que nous nous sommes donnée ne servira à rien, et il arrivera que nous serons contraints de trouver de grandes sommes pour satisfaire aux demandes des Anglais, lesquels ont leurs mémoires tout prêts des prises que nous avont faites et bien justifiés.

Les conseillers, qui devront assister M. de Bordeaux de la part du Roi pour faire l'évaluation du prix, seront les deux marchands de Rouen et de St. Malo, et le secrétaire de M. de Bordeaux.

Il faut faire des présents aux conseillers qui ont traité avec M. de Bordeaux, lequel les portera avec lui pour les faire de la part du Roi.

Les conseillers sont trois, auxquels il faut donner à chacun un présent de 500 pistoles en bagues, que l'on achétera ici au meilleur prix. Outre cela, il faudra faire un présent secréte au Garde des Sceaux de 800 pistoles d'une boite de diamans, en sorte qu'il faudra faire une ordonnance de comptant de 23,000 en tout que S. E. fera elle-même payer.

Une réponse civile du Roi à M. Cromwell.

Dépêcher l'affaire d'Anger, sans aucun délai aussi, ainsi qu'on lui a promis ; et M. de Brienne saura de M. de Bordeaux l'expédient qu'il faut prendre pour sortir de cette affaire. Et, en ce qui dépendra de MM. les surintendants, il sera bon que M. de Brienne leur fasse savoir que c'est l'intention du Roi de la dépêcher promptement afin qu'ils se rendent faciles. Il faut retraindre tout ce qu'on doit à M. Bordeaux pour les trois années à 36^{m} écus, plus pour trois années du Conseil 23^{m} 600, plus 2000 écus pour l'ameublement, ce qui lui devrait être payé entièrement s'il n'a eu quelque assignation. Plus, il lui faut faire bon 4,200 données aux ministres, et à d'autres 5000.

If faut faire un mèmoire de ce que nous avous perdu en Canada. Le droit que nous avons dans la possession de ce pays là, et généralement tout ce qui appartient à cette affaire.

II.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 10 Avril, 1656

J'ARRIVAI à Londres le 5e de ce mois, et le 8e je vis M. le Protecteur. Les commencements de cet entretien se passèrent en civilités et assurances que je lui donnai de la disposition dans laquelle le Roi était d'entretenir religieusement le dernier traité et d'appuyer de sa puissance les desseins que cet Etat pourrait former contre notre ennemi commun. Je fis aussi espérer que dans peu de jours nos commissaires arriveraient, et attribuai la remise de leur départ au grand nombre de mémoires des prises que les provinces maritimes de France avaient souffertes. Le Duc d'Yorck fut le dernier point que nous traitâmes, et sur lequel il me fut dit, sans que je le demandâsse, que le Conseil prendrait aujourd'hui une résolution. J'aurais pu me dispenser d'entrer si avant en matière, dans une audience qui semblait ne devoir être que compliment, étant plus de notre intérêt de ne rien presser, si je n'eusse reconnu par les avis qui m'ont été donnés dès mon arrivée, et par le discours que le Secrétaire d'Etat et quelques autres ministres avaient tenu peu de jours auparavant à mon secrétaire, que le régime a besoin d'être confirmé dans l'engagement où il est entré contre l'Espagne, par l'espérance de n'être point abandonné de la France, et que tous les ministres qui sont contraires à cette rupture, veulent persuader que nous n'exécuterons point le traité tant que nous le verrons engagé dans une guerre; et les mêmes ne manquent pas d'insinuer qu'il se traite secrètement de la paix entre la France et l'Espagne; et soit pour en être plus particulièrement informé et de ce qui se passe dans notre cour, ou pour donner un dernier dégoût à la famille royale d'Angleterre et établir, par le résidence d'un ambassadeur auprès du Roi, la créance d'une parfaite et entière liaison entre Sa Majesté et ce gouvernement, on a résolu de faire passer en France un Ministre du Conseil d'Ecosse, ci-devant Colonel, qui a pris alliance dans la maison de M. le Protecteur. Je faisais état, s'il m'eut été parlé dans mon audience de cette légation, de l'éloigner avec toute la bienséance possible. Ne m'en ayant rien été touché, quoique l'on donnasse sujet, je ne laissai pas, pour en faire

cesser le prétexte, de dire au Protecteur que, sans qu'il fut obligé d'envoyer personne en France, j'étais en état de le satisfaire sur tous les scrupules qu'on pouvait lui avoir donnés et sur les ouvertures qu'il me pourrait faire. Ce discours ne fut point relevé, seulement fit-il paraître, en termes généraux, de la disposition à agir désormais de concert, et avec plus de résolution que nous n'avions fait par le passé. J'attendrai, sans le solliciter néanmoins, l'effet de ses paroles ; et si l'on continue dans le dessein de faire partir le dit Colonel, dont l'équipage est déjà prêt, j'en parlerai ouvertement au Secrétaire d'Etat et tâcherai de rompre le voyage. Ce ne sera pas sans causer du chagrin, quelques raisons dont je me puisse servir pour y parvenir. Il ne m'en parait point qui nous puissent dispenser d'envoyer nos commissaires le plus tôt qu'il se pourra. Mais la guerre s'échauffant entre l'Espagne et l'Angleterre, l'on peut espérer quelque accommodement, pourvu que nous produisions grand nombre de procès-verbaux de prises faites sur les sujets de Sa Majesté. La proposition s'en pouru faire avec succès s'il m'est parlé de quelque liaison étroite ; l'on n'affete point encore de la souhaiter beaucoup, et je ne remarque pas que les esprits et les affaires d'ici soient dans un état différent de celui auquel je les avais laissées auparavant mon départ. Les sentiments y sont fort partagés sur la continuation de la guerre, à laquelle le Protecteur n'est porté que par un principe d'ambition, et l'on n'est point bien persuadé qu'il se puisse faire une grande conquête dans les Indes, où l'on n'a point encore envoyé quelques femmes qui y sont destinées.

III.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Londres, 10 Avril, 1656.

La lettre que j'écris à M. le Comte de Brienne informe votre Eminence des discours généraux que j'ai tenus à M. le Protecteur de la part du Roi. Il me reste à lui rendre compte de ce qui s'est passé sur les civilités dont elle m'aurait chargé. M. le Protecteur les reçut aussi bien qu'il se pouvait attendre, et témoigna, par les mouvements de son visage les réflexions secrétes qu'il faisait avec le Secrétaire d'Etat sur les points que je traitais et par les réponses qu'il me rendait, y prendre une

entière créance, et avoir déjà reconnu la vérité de la plupart ; entre autres le dessein d'exciter un soulèvement dans la flotte, dont quatre capitaines avaient rendu leurs commissions. Il parut aussi averti des négociations qui étaient en Flandres et des menées de Sexby ; mais il m'avoua qu'il n'avait aucune intelligence en Espagne et n'en savait les nouvelles que par les lettres de Paris, et que Votre Eminence lui ferait grande faveur si elle lui communiquait les avis qu'elle en reçoit touchant les affaires d'Angleterre ; je lui fis espérer. Après m'avoir fort prié de remercier Votre Eminence, il passa de soi-même, devant que j'eusse le temps d'en parler, au Duc d'Yorck, et me dit qu'il ferait prendre aujourd'hui une résolution dans le Conseil sur son sujet. Cette avance me donna lieu de lui marquer les inconvénients que sa sortie de France produiraient ; les diligences que les Ministres d'Espagne fesaient pour l'attirer en Flandres, et l'avantage que le gouvernement d'Angleterre recevrait de son séjour en France en ce qu'il nous conserverait des troupes considérables, mais aussi en ce que c'était diviser la famille royale d'Angleterre et l'affaiblir par l'attachement qu'elle prendrait à des intérêts différents. Je ne manquai pas aussi de le convier à prendre désormais une entière confiance en l'amitié du Roi et de Votre Eminence, et à ne pas juger de nos inclinations par des démarches de civilités, dont la bienséance ne pouvait nous dispenser, désignant par ces expressions générales les caresses qu'a reçues la princesse royale.

IV.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 24 Avril, 1656.

Le grand silence de M. le Protecteur après tant d'assurances qu'il m'avait données que dans peu de jours j'aurais de ses nouvelles, me fait croire que le Colonel Lockart sera chargé des propositions et des réponses que j'attendais, afin que son voyage ait plus de prétexte ou que sa personne soit mieux reçue en portant des marques de la déférence du Protecteur au désir de Sa Majesté. Sur le séjour du Duc d'Yorck en France j'avais témoigné, en des termes qui ne pouvaient choquer, qu'il était à propos de différer cette

égation pour quelque temps, mais toutes les raisons dont j'ail pu appuyer ma proposition n'ont pu changer le dessein pris devant mon retour en Angleterre. Les Ministres d'Etat auxquels je m'étais adressé, ont en ordre de me dire que si nous avions des considerations pour l'éloigner, ce régime en avait pour l'avancer; ils ont même passé jusqu'à se servir du prétexte de la religion.

L'envoi du dit Colonel à Paris a sans doute d'autres motifs, et quoique l'on professe publiquement de le vouloir tenir auprès du Roi pour agir en faveur des religionnaires, il est plus vraisemblable que l'espérance d'éloigner de la cour, par sa présence, les restes de la famille royale d'Angleterre, et la curiosité d'être à l'avenir plus informé des affaires de France, auront fait passer par dessus toutes les considérations que j'ai mises en avant, sans autre fruit que celui d'empêcher que M. le Protecteur ne donnera la qualité d'ambassadeur à son ministre jusqu'à ce que la reception ait confirmé les avis d'Anger et de Petit qui le font attendre avec de grandes impatiences, pour les désavouer et ôter la pensée de donner un titre plus relevé au dit colonel ; il est plus nécessaire que les civilités, dont on a accoutumé d'user envers les Ministres des Etats étrangers, soient accompagnées, que j'éprouve souvent en ce pays, où les esprits sont plus disposés à s'énorgueillir de l'honneur qui leur est fait que de la reconnaissance.

V.—LE CARDINAL MAZARIN TO M. LE PRÉSIDENT DE BORDEAUX.

Paris, le 26 Avril, 1656.

MONSIEUR,

VOS dépêches des 10 et 17 de ce mois m'ont été rendues ; je suis bien aise de la bonne réception que l'on vous a faite de delà, et vous remercie de vos nouvelles ; celles que nous avons sont qu'il n'est arrivé que quatre vaisseaux de la flotte, sur lesquels mêmement il y a fort peu de chose pour le Roi d'Espagne, et que l'on croit l'amiral perdu, lequel était demeuré derrière ; nous savons aussi de bonne part qu'en Espagne comme en Flandres *ils se flattent fort de l'espérance de quelque grande révolution qui doit arriver en Angleterre* et y mettre par leurs soins et leurs intrigues les affaires au

point qu'ils peuvent souhaiter. Il est certain aussi que le *Roi d'Angleterre a fait et signé son traité avec les Espagnols et que Sexby lui-même en a été bien aise*, croyant que *l'union de son parti avec celui du Roi* le mettra en état de faire quelque chose de plus considérable en *Angleterre ;* et ça été le but des Espagnols afin que *formant un parti de ces deux et y joignant encore les intelligences qu'ils peuvent avoir en ce pays-là*, ils puissent mettre d'autant plus *d'affaires sur les bras de M. le Protecteur.* Je sais d'ailleurs qu'ils ont promis au dit Roi par le traité de lui donner dans cette campagne 3,000 chevaux et 6,000 hommes de pied, et de quoi les payer pour trois mois, afin qu'il s'en puisse servir à quelque descente en Ecosse ou en Angleterre, espérant que par ce moyen il pourra former tout aussitôt une armée dans le pays de plus de 20,000 hommes, fondés sur les assurances qu'ils prètendent avoir que ce corps étant une fois débarqué il sera grossi à l'instant par quantité de troupes de gens de leur intelligence. On me mande aussi qu'ils croient être assurés de quelque port pour faire ce débarquement ; mais je ne doute pas que M. le Protecteur n'ait l'œil ouvert et n'ait prévenu à temps pour rendre inutiles ces desseins des Espagnols. En donnant part de ces avis à M. le Protecteur, vous pourrez lui communiquer aussi, et même lui remettre ez-mains les deux lettres ci-jointes *que nous avons interceptées.*

Il verra par celle qui n'est pas en chiffres de quelle façon Barrière s'explique ; elle est toute écrite de sa main et s'adresse à Cardeñas ; il y a apparence que l'autre contient quelque secret d'importance puis qu'elle est en chiffres, et il me semble que si Barrière est encore à Londres rien n'empêche que M. le Protecteur ne puisse l'obliger à la déchiffrer, mais il faut témoigner à M. le Protecteur qu'il importe extrêmement pour son avantage propre qu'autre que lui ne sacha que ces lettres et ces avis viennent d'ici, et qu'au contraire il faut qu'il fasse semblant, pour ce qui est des lettres, qu'elles ont été interceptées de delà.

Je ne m'etonne pas des bruits que vous me mandez qu courent au lieu où vous êtes pour faire croire que nous avons quelque negociation secrète pour la paix, car ce sont les Espagnols qui les répandent eux-mêmes afin de jeter, s'ills pou-

vaient, de la défiance dans les esprits; mais il n'y a nul fondement, et l'on ne songe ici qu'à réduire l'Espagne en tel état que son inimitié ne nous puisse pas faire grand mal.

Vous ferez bien de détourner, si vous pouvez, M. le Protecteur de l'envoi d'un ambassadeur en cette cour; ce n'est pas que Sa Majesté n'en fût bien aise, mais comme il y a ici beaucoup d'Anglais et d'Irlandais il s'en pourrait rencontrer parmis les uns ou les autres d'assez désespérés pour entreprendre quelque méchant coup, et quelque châtiment qui pût suivre, ce serait toujours un grand malheur; joint que si l'envoi de cet ambassadeur n'est que pour être informé de ce qui se passe ici, vous pouvez répondre à M. le Protecteur qu'il le sera bien plus exactement par votre moyen que par celui-là. Néanmoins, s'il voulait envoyer ici quelque personne de confiance pour y demeurer sans autre titre, il le peut faire librement, ne lui représentant rien là dessus que dans l'appréhension que ceux qui ne l'aiment ni lui ni nous ne prennent de là occasion d'entreprendre quelque chose qui puisse exciter des défiances. Je presse tant que je puis M. le Comte de Brienne pour l'expédition des commissaires, et l'on travaille aussi à ramasser le plus qu'on peut de procès-verbaux. Nous attendons de savoir la résolution qui aura été prise touchant M. le Duc d'Yorck; je vous dirai cependant qu'on le sollicite fort de la part du Roi son frère et de celle des Espagnols de se rétirer en Flandres, lui offrant emploi et assistance proportionnée à sa condition; et puisque les Espagnols le recherchent de la sorte et le pressent de sortir d'ici, c'est bien une marque infaillible qu'ils ne croient pas que ce soit le bien ni l'avantage de M. le Protecteur. On a déja donné les ordres nécessaires à tous les capitaines et officiers des navires du Roi de garder une entière correspondance avec ceux de la flotte d'Angleterre, et assurément il n'y sera rien oublié de notre part.

Pour ce qui est d'une liaison plus étroite et des entreprises maritimes dont on vous a parlé en termes généraux, vous pouvez écouter les propositions qui vous seront faites la-dessus et en donner avis ici, d'où l'on fera savoir les intentions de Sa Majesté; mais à vous parler franchement, ce qui nous pourrait empêcher de vous porter avec tant de chaleur à ce qui regarde à ce point là est que nous n'avons pas seulement

l'argent nécessaire pour l'entretien des troupes que le Roi a sur pied et exécuter les choses qui ont été résolues pour cette campagne. Je n'ai rien à vous répliquer sur le fait des présents ; et quant aux personnes en faveur desquelles vous avez pu me parler à votre départ, il sera bon que vous m'envoyez un mémoire, car j'ai eu tant d'autres affaires depuis ce temps là que je ne me souviens plus d'eux.

Le Roi sera bien aise d'avoir deux mille hommes, la plupart Anglais ou Ecossais et le reste Irlandais ; mais il ne peut donner rien d'avantage que douze écus pour chacun à condition qu'ils seront ici dans les deux mois après l'argent reçu ; vous pourrez donc traiter sur ce pied là, mais je vous pris toujours de vous souvenir que vous devez prendre vos précautions et vos sûretés en sorte que l'argent du Roi ne coura aucun risque.

Quand vous nous aurez mandé ce que souhaiterait le *beau-frère de M. Lambert* pour s'attacher au service du Roi, j'en rendrai compte à Sa Majesté et vous ferai savoir ces intentions. Quant à Wit, je n'en fais nul cas, étant toujours persuadé que c'est un esprit double à qui l'on ne saurait se fier ; nèanmoins, il n'y a point de mal de l'entendre et de lui dire que, s'il rend quelque service considerable, on le récompensera largement ; mais auparavant que de rien donner, on veut voir des effets.

J'aurai soin de vos intérêts et vous témoignerai toujours très volontiers en toutes les choses qui dépendront de moi que je suis.

VI.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 1 Mai, 1656.

La lettre qu'il vous a plu de m'écrire le 22 est arrivée assez à temps pour faire faire encore une tentative contre le départ du Colonel Lockart. Tous les offices que j'avais passés sur ce sujet par la voie de mes commissaires, n'empêchent point qu'il ne se dispose à suivre son équipage, qui était déjà sorti de Londres, et n'y ayant plus sujet de craindre que son voyage pût être avancé par les diligences que je ferais pour l'arrêter, je crus en devoir parler ouvertement au secrétaire ; je l'allai

voir à cet effet il y a deux jours, et après lui avoir fait savoir que nos commissaires étaient sur le point de passer en Angleterre, je lui dis que la légation du dit Colonel Lockart m'avait obligé de lui demander cette conférence, pour le prier de faire savoir à son Altesse que sans doute elle avait déjà entendu parler des ministres de son Conseil, que le Roi prendrait sans doute en bonne part le dessein qu'Elle avait d'envoyer en France, et surtout du choix du dit colonel que la réception dusieur. Vonin et de l'autre envoyé en Savoie, lors qu'ils passèrent par la cour, ne laissait pas lieu de douter qu'il n'y fût fait favorable accueil à tous ceux de cet état qui seraient revêtus d'un caractère public ; qu'enfin toutes nos démarches passées et mon retour devaient tout faire attendre à M. le Protecteur de l'estime du Roi ; qu' aussi Sa Majesté se promettait de trouver de la correspondance, et que ce serait la confirmer dans cette confiance si le voyage du colonel se remettait à un autre temps. J'en exagerai tous les motifs sans oublier celui de la religion, dont on s'était servi, pour persuader qu'il n'était pas présentement nécessaire, et qu' un agent, durant mon séjour en ce pays, suffirait pour solliciter les intérêts particuliers des Anglais, même pour donner avis de ce qui s'y passerait ; et sans entrer dans les considérations qui nous obligeaient de désirer cette complaisance, je tâchai seulement de prévenir la pensée que l'on pourrait avoir que nous refusassions de reconnaître les ambassadeurs d'Angleterre, ou qu'il y eût quelque négociation en France dont nous appréhendassions que le Protecteur eût connaissance. Le dit sieur secrétaire, après une attention fort tranquille, me dit que cette légation n'avait point d'autre cause qu'un désir de confirmer à Sa Majesté les sentiments que M. le Protecteur m'avait ici témoigné de passer des offices en faveur des Vaudois. Que la bienséance ne permettait pas de changer la résolution qui avait été prise ; que comme l'on avait eu ici de la joie de mon retour, le dit colonel trouverait sans doute la même disposition, et qu'il ne prendrait pas présentement qualité d'ambassadeur. Je ne laissai pas d'insister encore, et après avoir les avis qui représentaient les habitants des vallées de Savoie en condition d'avoir besoin d'aucune recommandation auprès de leur prince, je fis connaître que Sa Majesté ne prendrait

point en bonne part que M. le Protecteur, sous prètexte de les assister, voulût de faire de fête auprès de nos religionnaires, et que si l'amitié avait seule part à cet envoi, il devait se remettre, puis que je témoignais que nous le souhaitions; j'accompagnai cette proposition, de soi peu agréable, de toutes les expressions et civilités capables d'en adoucir l'amertume, et le dit sieur, affectant aussi de n'en être point choqué, me promit d'en faire sa relation.

Les civilités personnelles mirent fin à notre conférence, depuis laquelle le voyage du dit colonel avait été différé jusqu'à ce matin, qu'il a reçu ordre, après l'arrivée des lettres, de partir sur l'heure. Nous nous-etions visités la semaine passée sans parler d'affaire; seulement m'avait-il dit qu'il passerait comme particulier, et que le temps de son séjour était encore incertain. L'un de ses amis m'est venu prier d'écrire de lui en bons termes, afin qu'il fût mieux reçu en France; pour m'y convier d'avantage, il me dit que M. le Protecteur était résolu d'en user désormais avec les ministres étrangers plus civilement que par le passé. Il est vrais que si les siens étaient traités de même, les ambassadeurs ne seraient à leur entrée reçus, visités, et présentés à l'audience que par le maître des cérémonies, et ceux de caractère moins relevé ne le verraient qu'à la première audience. Les uns et les autres ne recevraient s'ils faisaient quelque proposition indifférente; ils éprouveraient de grandes longueurs dans toutes expéditions et peu de civilités personnelles. Seulement jouissent-ils de l'exemption de tout droit d'entrée et sortie pour tous les meubles qui leur appartiennent. C'est dont j'ai cru devoir informer, afin que si la loi du tallion se doit mettre en usage, celui de ce pays soit connu quoiqu'il soit de la générosité ordinaire de notre nation de vaincre les autres en civilités. Il semble que le Protecteur, envoyant le dit colonel, nonobstant ce que j'en avais témoigné, sans même me faire rendre réponse, Sa Majesté pourrait se régler sur cet exemple, crainte qu'un autre traitement passe pour un désaveu de mes insistances et agrément de l'ambassade, à laquelle sans doute les propositions d'amitié étroite se remettent.

S. Majesté ne sera pas en peine de le garantir (le Colonel Lockart) contre les ennemis de ce gouvernement; sa famille,

qu'il a composée de soldats de l'armée, étant capable de le mettre à couvert de leurs entreprises, et sa personne en réputation de valeur ; il est Ecossais et l'on prétend qu'il a été choisi de cette nation pour faire voir la confiance que M. le Protecteur y prend ; il l'avait d'ailleurs assez témoigné, le recevant dans sa famille.

VII.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 8 Mai, 1656.

J'AI reçu les deux lettres qu'il vous a plus de m'écrire le 29e du passé ; ma dépêche de la semaine passée servira de réponse au principal point dont elle parle, et le départ du Colonel Lockart accusera mon peu d'adresse ; ce n'est pas que je n'aie dit tout ce qui me semblait capable d'arrêter son voyage, et sans doute le Protecteur aurait usé de complaisance en ce rencontre, si quelque consideration bien puissante ne s'y opposait ; quoi qu'il allègue le motif de religion, que, comme j'apprends, le Colonel Lockart ait ordre d'être fort assidu à Charenton, et qu'en effet il soit de la même secte que nos prétendus réformés, je ne laisse pas d'attribuer sa légation à la vanité qu'a M. le Protecteur de tenir un Ministre en France, et en présence de la famille royale d'Angleterre, afin de lui causer quelque dégoût qui l'éloigne de la cour, et d'ôter à ceux de son parti toute espérance d'en pouvoir jamais être assistés. Que si le tître d'ambassadeur peut contribuer à l'un et à l'autre, il ne faut pas douter que le dit colonel n'en soit revêtu pour peu qu'il trouve d'agrément, ni aussi, que pour l'introduire et le rendre à l'avenir considérable, l'on ne fasse passer par lui toutes les ouvertures et propositions qui seront jugées devoir être agréables ; c'est ce qu'un de ses amis m'a déclaré et dont j'ai été confirmé par ce qui se passe dans l'audience que je demandai, il y a trois jours, au Protecteur, pour lui faire des plaintes de ce que les armateurs Anglais continuaient leurs déprédations sur les sujets de Sa Majesté, et aussi pour parler du Duc d'Yorck. Après avoir traité le premier point, et reçu les réponses qui se'n pouvait attendre, je passai au dernier et demandai la résolution qui m'ait été promise dans une première audience. Le Secrétaire d'Etat, pour prévenir ce, semble la

réponse que le Protecteur m'allait rendre, l'avertit tout bas que c'était un des chefs de l'instruction du dit Colonel Lockart ; il ne laissa pas néanmoins, se voyant pressé, de me dire que Sa Majesté en pourrait user comme bon lui semblerait. Je pris ce discours pour un exprès acquiescement au séjour du Duc d'Yorck en France, et témoignai que le Roi recevrait en fort bonne part cette complaisance.

Les civilités personnelles succédèrent aux nouvelles ; et entr'autres caresses, le Protecteur me convia d'aller désormais à Hampton Court pour avoir ma part de ses divertissements ; je n'en suis pas tellement touché que pour l'entretenir dans cette belle humeur je voulusse conseiller de traiter de même son Ministre qui est en France, si son séjour n'y est pas souhaité.

VIII.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 25 Mai, 1656.

Je n'ai plus rien à dire du Colonel Lockart, si ce n'est que le Roi ne sera point responsable des mauvaises rencontres qui lui pourraient arriver, après les déclarations que j'ai faites sur son voyage, tant aux Ministres d'Etat qu'à lui-même. Sa générosite ou la confiance qu'il prend en ses domestiques, et la joie de se voir dans un emploi qui le relève plus que n'a fait l'alliance de Protecteur, ont prévalés sur la crainte que lui devrait donner le désespoir de tant d'Anglais, Ecossais, et Irlandais ruinés par le régime d'Angleterre. Je les ai représentés en état de tout entreprendre, quoique le succès des meurtres faits en Espagne et en Hollande dût étouffer la pensée d'une semblable action, quand même elle ne serait pas capable d'exciter une réconciliation entre le Roi d'Espagne et le Protecteur.

IX.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 29 Mai, 1656.

Je vois par la lettre qu'il vous a plu de m'écrire le 20e du présent, que le Colonel Lockart a écrit et parlé uniformément de sa réception, mais bien différemment de son séjour, puis qu'il fait passer en France quelques personnes dont il ne s'était pas voulu charger devant que d'être assuré d'une

longue residence, et en remet d'autres à la fin de la campagne où il prétend suivre la cour si les autres ministres étrangers demeurent à Paris. Cette distinction persuadera le Protecteur que nous avons plus de déference pour ses désirs qu'il n'en a témoigné pour ceux de Sa Majesté par l'envoi de son ministre. On peut souffrir qu'il se flatte d'une telle créance pourvu qu'elle produise quelque avantage.

APPENDIX XXIII.

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MR. SECRETARY THURLOE TO GENERAL MONK.

Sir,

The alarm of Charles Stuart's landing his forces doth somewhat cool, the Spaniard not as yet making good his supplies; however it will be good to have an eye unto his party, and as I receive any intelligence concerning him, I shall be sure to let you know it. Yesterday we fell into a great debate in Parliament: one of the aldermen who serves for the city of London brought in a paper called a remonstrance, desiring my Lord Protector to assume kingly power, and to call future Parliaments consisting of two houses, as also that their members, who are chosen to serve in Parliament, may not be excluded to sit and serve there but by judgment of the house whereof they are members. It is also desired that no person should be desired to sit and serve in Parliament that has been of the malignant party, or is not fearing God and of a good conversation. The same qualifications are put upon the other house also; and those my Lord Protector by that paper is to name for the first time, and then none to be admitted but by the consent of the house itself; and some think that this will be very good to preserve the good interest against the uncertainty of the Commons' House which is to be chosen by the people; yet upon these also there is a bar, for a com^tee of a precedent Parliament is to join with the Privy Council to examine whether the members of the succeeding Parliament be chosen according to the qualifications, yea or not, and to exclude those who are not until the House shall judge their

cases. His Highness is also desired to nominate his successor in his life, to prevent the uncertainty of an election after his death; provision is likewise made for raising a constant revenue, for mustering the army: the delinquent party are declared incapable for ever of any trust in these nations, and an oath of abjuring Charles Stuart's title is to be put upon them under a forfeiture of part of their estates. Provision is likewise made for liberty of religion. I have written most fully to you in these particulars because you might satisfy any other who may have scruples about this business. I do assure you it ariseth from the Parliament only; his Highness knows nothing of the preambles until they were brought into the House, and no man knows whether, if they be passed, but that his Highness will reject them. It's certain he will if the security of the good people and cause be not provided for therein to the full. It is good that you inform yourself concerning the posture of the army with you, because some unquiet spirits or other will take this or any other occasion to put the army into discontent by false reports. Provision is likewise made for confirming the sales of the king's, queen's, and princes' and other lands sold by the Parliament.

Your affectionate and faithful

Jo. Thurlow.

Whitehall, February 24, 1656.

APPENDIX XXIV.

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TREATY CONCLUDED BETWEEN LOUIS XIV. AND THE PROTECTOR FOR THE CAMPAIGN OF 1657.

[Signed at Paris on the 23rd of March, 1657. Ratified by Louis XIV. on the 30th of April, and by Cromwell on the 4th of May following.]

Cum certis argumentis constat Hispanos sua perpetuo fovendis in orbe Christiano discordiis, consilia ducere; et quo libet quidem tempore, sed præsertim elapso proximé anno justas, honestas imo etiam sibi utilissimas Pacis conditiones repudiaverint, quas Ludovicus XIV., Galliarum et Navarræ Rex Christianissimus, pro singulari in publicam tranquillitatem amore, per Dominum de Lionne à secretioribus con-

siliis ipsi Catholico Regi et in ejus usque Aulam proponi offerique curaverat; cumque post indignam hanc repulsam non sit sperandum posse unquàm amicâ negotiorum tractatione iniri Pacem, donec fortiori armorum facinore adacti Hispani sententiam mutent, sumantque moderatiora consilia et quieti publicæ accommodatiora; Sacra Christianissima Regia Majestas ne quid omittat, quoad fieri potest, ut propositum adeò sanctum finem optatum habeat, et ut rescivit per Dominum Guilielmum Lockart Equitem auratum unum è consiliariis pro Scotiâ Serenissimi et Potentissimi Domini Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ Protectoris, ejusdem que Domini Legatum Commissarium Procuratorem et Deputatum, suam Celsitudinem eâ etiam esse mente atque animo communem ambobus hostem adigendi, ut per eum Christianus orbis desideratissimâ quiete gaudere tandem possit, prædictumque Dominum Protectorem eo fine plenam et omnimodam dicto Domino Guilielmo Lockart dedisse potestatem et auctoritatem deliberandi, consulendi, et statuendi cum iis quos Christianissima Majestas delegisset; tum de ratione et modo quo proximâ expeditione bellicâ Exercitus Galliæ Angliæque tam auspicatè ducerentur, ut unione virium et consiliorum mutuâ consensione in Hispanorum animis jacturæ majoris metu ingenerare possint studium pacis ad quod hùc usque nulla aliâ ratione potuerunt induci, tùm de strictiore inter utrumque statum amicitia, commodo Dominiorum Populorum et subditorum utrinque, et cæteris quæ ad publicæ pacis stabilimentum conducant: Sacra Christianissima Majestas ipsa pro se in hunc finem delegerit, commiseritque D^num. Comitem de Brienne suorum ordinum commendatorem, ab omnibus consiliis, primumque à secretis et à mandatis actuarium et D^num. de Lionne, Marchionem de Fresne, D^num. de Berny, Præfectum Magistrumque ceremoniarum eorumdem ordinum, et a secretioribus consiliis, cum plenâ et omnimodâ etiam potestate et auctoritate eâdem, superius dicta statuendi et concludendi; qui dicti D^ni. Plenipotentiarii postquàm multoties unà convenissent, sequentes demum Articulos vi dictarum potestatum statuerunt, quarum apographum ad finem præsentium inscribitur.

1° Primum hâc æstate Anni 1657, mensi Aprili, si fieri

possit, Munitiones Gravelingæ, Mardickum et Dunkerquæ communi ære et viribus terrâ marique successivè obsidebuntur eo qui sequitur modo.

2° Anglia præstabit de suo pro unâquaque ex illis prædictis obsidionibus successivis Gravelingæ, Merdicki et Dunkerquæ classem magnorum navigiorum, numero et formâ parem occludere Portus prædictarum munitionum, quamdiù obsidiones duraverint; et prætereà scapharum minorumque navigiorum numerum qui necessarius videbitur, ut tum prædictis navibus majores minoresve suppetias ferant, tum impediant, quas aut hostis, aut quivis alius, quibus istæ obsidiones sibi interesse viderentur, in obsessa oppida tentarent inducere; et Gallia viginti hominum præsentium millia, tum peditatus, tum equitatus.

3° Præterea Anglia præstabit pro dictis obsidionibus sex millia peditum præsentium in sex Legiones, seu Regimenta, quorum unumquodque cohortes ducet decem; quælibet cohors ultrà Centurionem, seu capitaneum; subcenturionem et signiferum, milites centum, mediâ parte sclopetarios, alterâ sariszophoros, habebit, omnes Anglos absque Scotis aut Hibernis; quorum tria millia, dictorum sex millium militum, conscribentur mandato seu commissionibus suæ Christianissimæ Majestatis, et deferentur in Galliam sumptibus dictæ Majestatis, scilicèt triginta septem libris Turonitis et decem assibus, monetâ Gallicâ, pro delectu et advectione cujusque militis, absque sclopetis, sarissis et balteis (gallicè Bandoliers) quos dicta Majestas subministrari iis curabit; et alia tria millia conscribentur, armabuntur et transferentur in Galliam sumptibus Angliæ; Regia intereà Majestas pollicetur ut primum appulerint ad Calethi littora, aut Flandriæ, dare operam ut ipsis stipendia solvantur et suppeditentur alimenta, donec prædictæ obsidiones duraverint, in quibus ipsi post juramentum more solito præstitum militabunt stipendio et castrensi famulatu suæ Majestatis, imperio Ducum Exercituum obsequentes, et solventur, eâ ratione quâ peculiari scripto dicti D^mi. Plenipotentiarii inter se convenerunt; curabit que intereà sua Majestas ut è navigio excedentibus anticipato solvatur dimidium stipendium, mox diducendum ab integro.

4° Acceptâ, à Ducibus et officialibus belli quos dictus Domi-

nus Protector ad hoc commiserit, pecuniâ, quam sua Majestas solvi curabit pro delectu et advectione trium millium militum supra dictâ proportione triginta septem librarum semis pro milite, sua Celsitudo in se recipiet, curabit que transferri et transvehi in Galliam aut Flandriam tam prædicta tria militum millia, quam alia tria millia quæ conscribere, armare et transfretare etiam debet suis sumptibus, id que tempore, et si fieri possit, etiam die de quâ specialius tractabitur; sicut etiam prædictus Dominus Protector curabit advehi suam navium classem, aliasque minores scaphas et navigia in conspectum dictarum munitionum occludendis earum portubus die indictâ, penes consilia quæ vicissim sumentur de illarum obsidionis tempore.

5° Casu quo, præter commeatus quos Regia Christianissima Majestas de suo paraverit, promovendo firmandoque felici harum obsidionum successu, opus habeat in eumdem finem re aliquâ quam ex Angliâ ducere posse judicaverit facilius commodiùs aut minore pretio, ut parte pabulorum pro Equitatu, avenâ, tritico, armis, globia tormentariis, pulvere, (funiculis ignariis,) missilibus glandibus, (gallicè grenades,) aliisque id genus necessariis aut utilibus ad prosperum dictarum obsidionum eventum prædictus Dominus Protector sese astringít, et pollicetur daturum operam, ut ea Exercitui Galliæ quantitate necessariâ justo solitoque pretio suppeditantur.

6° Casu quo prædictæ obsidiones fælici successu gaudeant (qui merito sperandus videtur) Dunkerqua et Mardickum Angliæ cedet et Gravelinga Galliæ; spondet in præsentia Majestas sua, casu quo Dunkerqua in deditionem pacisci cogatur, arma Angliæ in eam se inducturum, non sua; et in manus suæ Celsitudinis aut eorum quibus ejus recipiendæ munus dederit, oppidum traditurum.

7° Cum difficillimum videatur (salva armorum communium famâ) ab obsidione Dunkerquæ incipere, quamvis optandum id maximè esset, quod Gravelinga sit a reliquis abscinderetur, ut hoc modo unitâ obsidione ambo oppida capta esse viderentur; si tamen prudentiâ et bellicis rationibus constat, primo impetu tam procul in hostilem regionem progredi tutum non esse, relictâ ponè munitione tanti roboris ut est Gravelinga, præter varia alia loca quæ hostes illis in partibus

occupant, quibus facilè esset interrumpere commercium Galliam inter et suscipiendam obsidionem totis viribus conservandum ; Regia Majestas Christianissima quo omnibus modis dicto D^no^ Protectori exhibeat sinceram fidem, in præsentia pollicetur, casu quo prædictis rationibus aut aliis adigatur Gravelingam primum obsidere, et auso poviatur, dictum oppidum Gravelingam munitiones et fortalitia ab hostibus nunc circum possessa dicti Domini Protectoris tradere in manus, donec capta Dunkerqua locus sit perficiendi quod continetur in articulo immediatè præcedenti, quod nempè Dunkerqua et Mardickum Angliæ cedent, Gravelinga Galliæ ; hæc que Dunkerquæ cum Gravelinga commutatio bonâ fide fiet, captis ambobus oppidis sumptis, tunc scilicet securitatibus vicissim necessariis, uti fieri assolet. Intereà, ut supra dictum oppidum Gravelingam si primum obsideatur et capiatur, Regia Majestas inducet non sua quidem arma, sed Angliæ, indè non dicessura priusquàm capta Dunkerquâ prædicta commutatis absolvi possit.

8° Prædictus Dominus Protector, componendo præsidio oppidi quod ei suprà dicto tradetur in manus, uti poterit, si ità è re videatur, iis officialibus militibus que quos eo fine ex illo trium millium Anglorum numero, suis sumptibus conscriptorum et armatorum extrahet.

9° Sacra Regia Majestas utetur ex arbitrio sex hisce militum millibus quamdiu libuerit, exceptis solummodo iis quos propugnandæ urbi captæ (uts uperiori articulo dictum est) sua Celsitudo deligerit ; dictaque Majestas tantum obligabitur quando cumque illarum copiarum operam ultra adhibere non placuerit, curare iis dari dimidium stipendium, dimissionis ergo quo naulum solvant, reditus que in patriam sumptus.

10° Regia Majestas, confectis supradictis expeditionibus, dictum Anglorum numerum cui libet è suis Exercitibus poterit adjungere, eorumque uti ministerio, quocumque immiserit, cùm tamen ipsi gratum sit dictas copias nunquam dividere, sed eas potiùs semper unitas benignè retinere.

11° Cum sua Majestas, mota licet tam sancto proposito, ut est Christiani orbis tranquillitas, oblatâ quâvis sibi utilissima conditione assentire nunquàm voluisset, ut id agerent Exercitus sui ut in Flandriæ oppido arma Angliæ ponerentur,

absque plenâ integrâ et sancta fidentiâ Religionem Catholicam sartam tectam ab omni incommodo, detrimento, aut molestiâ integram conservatam iri ; dictus Dnus. Protector pollicetur et fidem suam solemniter obstringit, dabit que prætereà suæ Majestati dipploma eâ de re singulare ; quod Dunkerqua, Mardicko aut Gravelingâ in potestatem suam traditis, ut supra dictum est, omnia ibi, quod ad Religionem Catholicam pertinet relinquet in eodem statu quo ea repererit. Et indè Ecclesiastici tam regulares quam alii, nihil adversus regimen cui submissi fuerint molientur, suis reditibus securi fruentur, et ecclesiarum possessione quarum nulla prorsùs trahi poterit in usum Religionis Protestantis ; nec ulla tandem Religioni Catholicæ quovis prætextu mutatio proberit adferri.

12° Dictus Dominus Protector pollicetur in præsentia nihil quidquam aliud in posterum in Flandriâ intendere quam quoad possessionem spectat munitionum Dunkerquæ et Mardicki, et donec possint in manus suæ Celsitudinis tradi solius, solius Gravelingæ ; hoc tantum sibi excipiens, ut ditiones hostiles circumprædicta oppida adjacentes ad contribuendum possit adigere ; nec ea tamen contributionum ratio obstat quo minus Sacra Regia Christianissima Majestas invadat et occupet, si ita pro rerum suarum bono videbitur, oppida etiam Bergam, et Furnum aut alia quævis loca quæ hostes ad maris oram possident, aut in viciniâ. Quæ loca casu quo cedant Galliæ, libera immediatè erunt à supradictarum contributionum onere.

13° Prætereà conventum est, quod præsens tractatus atque omnia et singula quæ in eo continentur, per patentes utriusque partis litteras, sigillo majori munitas, debitâ et authenticâ formâ intra Mensem proxime insequentem (aut citiùs si fieri potest) confirmabuntur et ratificabuntur ; mutuaque instrumenta, inter prædictum tempus, hinc indè tradentur.

ARTICULUS SECRETUS.

Quo facilior ad stabiliendam in orbe Christiano securam dinturnamque Pacem aditus pateat, utque præcaveatur ne invidæ utrinque suboriantur æmulationes et fortè etiam

discordiæ, quas hostes procul dubio Angliam inter et Galliam disseminare conabuntur, oblato alterutri disjunctim peculiari Fœdere, in id unum sedulò intenti, ut, illâ quæ inter ambæ intercedit unione diductâ, earum damnum lucro apponant, ut illis jam antea successit iisdem circa Galliam et Hollandiam artibus ; conclusum est inter prædictos plenipotentiarios secreto hocce Articulo qui eamdem vim et vigorem sortietur, uti Tractatus propositi bellicæ expeditionis hodiè initi, hujusque articuli mutua etiam ratificatio commutabitur : quòd neque Anglia neque Gallia Pacem, indutias, aut quodvis aliud pactum cum coronâ Hispanicâ icere poterunt, spatio anni completi ab hâc scilicet die vicesimâ tertiâ Martii, anno reparatæ salutis millesimo sexcentesimo quinquagesimo septimo, nisi communi censensu id fiat ; quòd etiam, toto dicti anni completi tempore, nulla pacis aut induciarum propositio cum Hispanis audietur, de quâ illico vicissim, se participes bonâ fide non reddant, et si, currente dicto anno, Gallia, instantibus summo Pontifice, et Republicâ Veneta stabiliendo pro publicâ pace colloquio, in finibus Pyrenæorum, Flandriæ aut alibi consentiat, eâ id tantum erit conditione, quòd Rex Catholicus det suos salvos conductus bonâ et honorificâ formâ pro Angliæ Plenipotentiariis, ut possint eidem congressui adesse, ibique dignosci, et excipi ab aliis conventus Deputatis eo quo decet honore et dignitate.

Actum Parisiis die XXIII^tio^ Martii anno reparatæ salutis millesimo sexcentesimo quinquagessimo Septimo.

APPENDIX XXV.

(Page 378.)

I.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

1656, 4 Août.

Il est aussi certain que les levées d'Anglais coûtent beaucoup plus qu'aucunes autres parceque le peuple étant assez accommodé, il ne s'engage pas si facilement dans la guerre ; d'ailleurs notre service passe pour être un peu rude, et le present régime paie bien plus regulièrement et donne bien moins de fatigues à ses troupes. . . . . .

1°. Quatre mille hommes seront levés pour le service de

France et debarqués en le lieu sûr et commode dont il sera convenu, au premier de Septembre prochain, si la conduite d'officiers nommés et ayant commission de Son Altesse, est jugée raisonnable.

2. Les dits quatre mille hommes se joindront à l'armée du roi pour l'exécution de tel dessein qui sera accordé de part et d'autre, et obéiront aux ordres du général de la dite armée, suivant la discipline de la guerre.

3. Les dits hommes ne seront point séparés ou dispersés et ne feront qu'un corps ou brigade. Si ce n'est du consentement du commandant en chef de la dite brigade, qui sera commis par Son Altesse.

4°. Le Roi des Français paiera ici en Angleterre trois livres st. et douze schellings (1) par tête à chaque soldat pour la levée et transport, et treize schellings quatre pence par tête, pour l'achat d'armes, tambours et drapeaux, et aux officiers un entretien ou paye raisonnable; et sera le d'argent mis ès-mains de l'officier que S. A. nommera pour commencer la levée et faire les provisions nécessaires pour le transport.

5°. S'il arriva que son Altesse ait besoin pour son propre service des dits quatre mille hommes, ou de partie d'y ceux, elle en pourra disposer en payant le prix de la levée à proportion du nombre qu'elle prendra sur le produit sus dit de trois livres douze schellings par tête.

6°. Les dits hommes, tout le temps qu'ils serviront en France, seront payés et entretenus sur le plus haut pied d'aucune des autres troupes qui sont au service de France, et auront mêmes priviléges et avantages que ceux de quelqu'autre nation que ce puisse être.

7°. Il sera fait une paie d'un mois au débarqué, tant aux officiers qu'aux soldats.

8°. Le Roi du Français venant à congédier les dits quatre mille hommes, ou partie d'y ceux, il leur sera donné par avance lors du dit congé un mois de paie pour leur transport.

MODIFICATION.

Au lieu de trois liv. st. douze sch. par tête mentionné en l'art. 4 pour la levée et transport de chaque soldat, on se contentera de trois liv. st. par tête.

Et il sera au choix des Français d'acheter eux-mêmes ici des armes si bon leur semble.

L'entretien ou paie raisonnable des officiers dont il est parlé dans le même article. sera un mois de paie par avance, sur le pied qu'on les paie en Angleterre, et d'un jour pour le Commandant-en-Chef.

Au lieu d'un mois de paie demandé par l'article 7, on se contentera d'un demi à leur dêbarquement.

II.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

1656, 21 Septembre.

APRES avoir attendu seize jours l'audience que j'avais demandée à M. le Protecteur, il me l'a donnée ce soir. Ma réception à Whitehall ne doit point changer l'opinion où j'étais que cette remise extraordinaire procédait de quelque mécontentement. L'on m'a, contre l'ordinaire, tenu dans une salle longtemps d'avant que de m'admettre à l'audience; aucun Ministre du Conseil ne m'a reçu ni m'accompagné à la sortie, quoiqu'il en ait été usé autrement depuis mon séjour en Angleterre ; cette différence ne m'a pas tant surpris que de voir M. le Protecteur prendre le Maître des Cérémonies pour interprète, qu'on soupçonne être des pensionnaires d'Espagne, et en cette qualité éloigné de toute confiance, je n'ai pas laissé de faire les civilités qui m'ont été ordonnées, le remerciant de sa bonne volonté, et l'assurant qu'encore que Sa Majesté ne s'en prévaille pas pour la présente campagne, elle ne se croyait pas moins obligée de lui donner en toutes rencontres des marques de sa reconnaissance et de son affection. Je lui ai ensuite demandé la continuation de cette bonne disposition qu'il a fait paraître depuis notre disgrace, de la continuer, et l'ai prié de souffrir la levée d'infanterie dont Sa Majesté aura besoin pour la campagne prochaine, lui répétant que la puissance de nos seules troupes était capable de faire perdre à l'Espagne la pensée d'appuyer les entreprises que le Roi d'Ecosse pourrait former sur l'Angleterre ; la jonction des forces de l'empereur avec celles d'Espagne au prejudice du traité de Munster et de la réunion de l'un et de l'autre par le mariage de l'Infanta ; ces considérations m'ont donné un prétexte de convier à prendre des mesures pour la campagne

prochaine et de songer aux entreprises qui se pourraient former à l'avantage de la France et de l'Angleterre, lui témoignant que j'avais ordre d'en conférer avec lui, et que la disposition qu'il trouverait en Sa Majesté confirmerait la vérité de ce qui a été dit au sieur Lockart sur le voyage de M. Lyonne. Mon dit sieur le Protecteur a répondu à tous ces points sur lesquels je me suis assez étendu à différentes reprises avec des expressions générales, pleines de satisfaction de ce que notre armée se trouvait en état de résister aux ennemis sans le secours que nous lui avions demandé. Il a aussi professé d'être toujours dans les mêmes sentiments, et prêt à favoriser nos desseins, remettant à un autre temps la conférence que je lui avais proposée sans la presser, et a paru informé de la mauvaise foi de l'empereur ; mais il a passé fort légèrement sur la négociation de M. Lyonne, affectant néanmoins de croire ce qui a été dit à son resident. Nous avons après parlé des desseins du Roi d'Angleterre, de l'ordre qu'a reçu le Duc d'Yorck de passer en Flandres, et des diligences que faisait le Marquis d'Ormond pour assembler un corps considérable d'Anglais, Ecossais, et Irois. J'ai pris sur ce sujet occasion de parler du service que quelques sujets des Provinces-Unies rendaient avec leurs vaisseaux à l'Espagne, sans l'avoir pu engager d'approfondir cette matière, ni les affaires de Pologne, quoique j'en aie fait ouverture en lui disant pour nouvelles que les dernieres lettres de M. d'Avaujour donnaient espèrance d'un accommodement, et ne voyant pas jour de m'éclaircir sur aucun autre point, j'ai fini mon audience par le député de Bordeaux, en donnant parole qu'encore que sa conduite méritât un châtiment exemplaire, néanmoins le roi lui pardonnait en sa considération ; devant que de me remercier, il a demandé au Secrétaire d'Etat si ce n'était point le Protestant. J'ai relevé cette parole pour lui dire que sa religion était encore une des raisons qui devait apporter de la difficulté à cette grâce, non que Sa Majesté considerât moins ses sujets qui la professent que les autres, ou fut moins assuré de leur obéissance, mais par ce qu'il ne pouvait souffrir que les états etrangers affectassent de les protéger. Ce discours n'a pas empêché que M. le Protecteur, après quelques civilités sur la complaisance dont le roi usait, n'ait loué nos religionnaires de la

fidélité qu'ils ont témoignée en ces derniers temps . . . . . Il manda Samedi les officiers de l'armée, et leur dit que le Roi d'Ecosse faisait de grands préparatifs contre l'Angleterre, que celui d'Espagne lui donnait un corps de dix mille hommes et qu'encore que ces forces ne fussent pas à craindre, il se devaient tenir sur leurs gardes et aviser ensemble aux moyens de se garantir tant contre les ennemis etrangers que domestiques. Deux jours après, le Chevalier Vane, le Major-Général Ludlow, et quelques autres de même faction, qui ont refusé de se soumettre au gouvernement, furent envoyés prisonniers en différents endroits ; le premier a été puissant dans le Long Parlement et les autres avaient toujours servi dans l'armée ; en même temps plusieurs royalistes ont été arrêtés, et tous les autres du même parti ont en ordre de s'éloigner de dix lieues de Londres. Il a aussi été expédié beaucoup de commissions pour de nouvelles levées d'hommes, outre les recrues des vieilles troupes, qui font une garde aussi exacte dans la ville que si l'ennemi était aux portes ; et le gouverneur d'une des places de la côte a été arrêté pour n'avoir pas révélé qu'il lui avait été fait des offres de la part du Roi d'Angleterre. Ces précautions ont pour prétexte une conspiration des royalistes et la mauvaise volonté des républicains ; mais beaucoup croient et avec fondement, que l'on se sert du nom des premiers pour donner quelques alarmes à l'armée, et empêcher qu'elle ne s'intéresse au mauvais traitement que reçoivent les autres qui professent une chaleur extraordinaire pour la conservation des priviléges du peuple et qui ont même contribué, entr'autres le dit Chevalier Vane, à l'élévation du Protecteur qu'il appelait son frère ; la différence des intérêts a rompu cette alliance.

III.—CARDINAL MAZARIN TO M. LE PRESIDENT DE BORDEAUX.

Paris, 1656, 6 Décembre.

M. le Colonel Lockart est parti d'ici pour s'en retourner en Angleterre sans qu'il y ait rien de conclu ; il sait seulement ce qu'il y a à faire pour une liaison étroite, et comme il en rendra compte de delà s'il se résout quelque chose, vous en serez averti aussitôt ; je lui ai envoyé quatre des plus beaux chevaux de mon écurie, deux coursiers de Naples et deux

barbes, pour M. le Protecteur ; néanmoins, il n'en faut pas faire d'éclat, et je l'ai prié mêmement de les présenter comme une bagatelle que j'avais en quelque façon destinée pour le dit Sieur Colonel.

Je commencerai au premier jour à vous faire remettre de l'argent pour travailler aux levées ; je vous prie de vous y bien appliquer. Vous pourrez aussi conférer avec le dit Sieur Colonel Lockart des moyens d'y mieux réussir; il y contribuera en tout ce qui lui sera possible.

IV.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

Londres, 1656, 28 Decembre.

Il passe pour constant dans le public et quelques particuliers m'assurent que le secrétaire de Don Alonzo de Cardeñas a été depuis peu à Londres, a même logé pendant trois jours à Whitehall et a conféré avec quelqu'un du Conseil ; qu'il s'en est retourné le 21 de ce mois, et que son voyage ne sera pas sans quelque succès ; cette négociation est désavouée par toutes les personnes de la cour ; néanmoins, la plupart des loyalistes ne laissent pas d'en avoir l'alarme, et de croire que le succès ruinera entièrement leur parti.

V.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Londres, 1657, 27 Janvier.

. . Je ferai toute diligence pour découvrir la vérité de ce que Votre Eminence m'écrit du voyage qu'a fait le Secrétaire de Cardeñas. Ceux qui m'en avaient donné l'avis, veulent qu'un moine Irlandais, son confesseur, qui était revenu ici de Flandres peu auparavant, eut ouvert cette negociation dont j'ai douté longtemps et que j'ai différé d'écrire, jusqu'à ce que l'on m'eût assuré d'avoir vu le dit secrétaire. S. Whyte a fait quelque intrigue, ce doit être avec la participation du Protecteur, puis qu'on ne l'a relâché de la prison où il était détenu pour avoir reçu des lettres de Cardeñas, que peu de jours devant le prétendu voyage du dit secrétaire, et qu'il ne demeure en Angleterre que par la permission qui lui en est renouvelée de temps en temps. Il a discontinué de me voir durant sa prison, et depuis je ne l'ai pu attirer chez moi, quoi,

que je l'en aie convié, pour l'entendre sur cette négociation. Je sais aussi que le Ministre Stoupe s'est mêlé de faire les ouvertures d'accommodement, sous le nom de M. le Prince de Condé, et que M. le Protecteur lui permet d'entretenir commerce avec ses gens. Cette conduite et les avis différents qui m'ont été donnés, m'avaient fait croire le voyage et les conférences du dit secrétaire ; mais il m'a aussi paru que l'un et l'autre pouvaient avoir été recherchés pour faire perdre aux royalistes d'Angleterre la confiance qu'ils ont à l'Espagne, ou même pour donner de la jalousie à la France et disposer Sa Majesté à mieux recevoir les propositions que porte le Colonel Lockart.

VI.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Londres, 1658, 7 Janvier.

. . . . . J'OSE, Monseigneur, me promettre de la justice de Votre Eminence qu'elle n'aura pas eu désagréable devoir, qu'en servant le roi et exécutant ses ordres, ma conduit auprès de M. le Protecteur ait été telle qu'il lui en soit resté une entière satisfaction, et si bonne opinion de moi, qu'il me trouve capable de remplir l'une des principales places auxquelles les personnes de ma profession doivent aspirer et que même il m'en veuille faciliter l'entrée. Je crois aussi qu'après un jugement si avantageux et une recommandation si puissante, je ne puis être blâmé d'avoir des prétentions relevées. Ce n'est pas que je ne reconnaisse que, M. le Protecteur parlant pour le charge de premier Président, ne se soit plus considéré que mon ambition, puisque j'avoue qu'elle ne s'étendrait pas au delà d'une charge de Président au mortier, l'ayant toujours bornée aux choses qui me paraissaient sans difficulté, et que je pouvais attendre de la bonté de Votre Eminence. Mes sentiments ne sont point si fort changés que si elle ne peut user de toute la complaisance qu'en désire M. le Protecteur, je ne lui fasse connaître qu'en me faisant préférer à l'une des charges de Président au mortier, elle a donné à sa prière tout ce que la conjoncture des affaires de France permettait, et que je ne reçoive cette préférence comme un des plus grands bienfaits que je puisse souhaiter. Je ne laisserai pas, aussi, pour lever tous obstacles, de me porter à

tous les accommodements que ma fortune présente permettra, s'il plait à Votre Eminence de me faire savoir, ou à quelqu'un des miens, sa volonté ; et je la prie très-humblement d'être persuadée que, quand le secours d'autrui, mes services et d'autres motifs auraient part à l'établissement que je demande, je ne m'en tiendrais pas moins redevable à ses bontés, ni moins obligé d'être, avec autant de zèle et de respect que je l'ai été par le passé. . . . . .

APPENDIX XXVI.

(Page 380.)

I.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

1657, 23 Août.

. . . . . Il ne faut pas que M. le Protecteur ait sçu le dépérissement des Anglais, puisqu'il ne m'en a rien témoigné. J'ai pourtant apris que, pour faire voir leur déplorable condition, quelques uns d'entre eux avaient envoyé de notre pain de munition un peu différent de celui que l'on consomme ici d'ordinaire. S'ils sont employés, tous ces degoûts passeront, et l'on ne laissera pas d'en tirer bon service. C'est ce que souhaitent les bien affectionnés d'ici à la France. . . . .

II.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

1657, 27 Septembre.

Monsieur,

Je n'accusai point, par l'ordinaire précédent, la reception de la lettre qu'il vous a plu de m'écrire lors. L'arrivée de M. Talon à Londres le même jour m'en ôta le temps. Il est venu demander, de la part de M. de Turenne, quatre mille hommes, et des munitions de guerre pour entreprendre l'attaque de Mardick. Le général Reynolds, qui avait passé la mer avec lui, ayant pris le devant, et vu M. le Protecteur à Hampton Court, il s'en retourna aussitôt ici, et sur le soir je lui allai présenter le Sieur Talon, qui remit entre ses mains son instruction, et le mémoire des choses nécessaires sans en retirer aucune réponse. Elle fut renvoyée au lendemain matin, et étant retournée à Whitehall pour la recevoir, nous n'y fîmes

qu'examiner la carte de la côte, et les avantages que ce régime recevrait de la conquête de Mardick, M. le Protecteur ayant encore demandé du temps pour se résoudre jusqu'à hier. Cependant, le Sieur Reynolds avait témoigné que la proposition était fort agréable et que même l'on surservirait le détachement qui se devait faire pour le service de Suède de deux régiments de vieilles troupes. M. le Protecteur nous avait aussi paru comme ses discours, être assez porté à se prévaloir de l'occasion. Néanmoins, je le trouvai hier tout changé dans l'air de son visage, et dans ses discours. Il me fit une récapitulation de tout ce qu'il m'avait dit depuis que l'armée du roi s'était écartée de la côte de mer, touchant l'inexécution du dernier traité, laissant assez ouvertement entendre qu'encore que, de sa part, il y eut satisfait, nous n'en avions pas usé de même ; que nous avions plutôt songé à prendre Cambray ; que l'entreprise ayant manqué, nous avions porté nos armes devant Montmédy, et attaqué Saint-Venant : tous ces sièges ayant mis notre armée hors d'état de former aucun dessein considérable, sur la fin de la saison, je lui apportais de nouvelles propositions qui ne lui étaient d'aucun avantage. Mardick ne se pouvant conserver sans grands frais ; que ses autres desseins ne lui permettaient pas d'employer ses troupes à cette entreprise, et que Dunkerque ne pouvant pas être attaqué, Mardick n'était pas capable de le dédommager des frais qu'il avait faits toute cette campagne, tenant une flotte toujours en état d'agir ; que, d'ailleurs, le traité obligeait le roi à fournir les choses que l'on lui demandait, et qu'enfin son Conseil ne jugeait pas à propos qu'il se départit du traité. Ce discours, en termes assez plaintifs, m'obligea de repasser par toutes les considérations qui avaient empêché l'armée de Sa Majesté d'entreprendre vers la mer au commencement de la campagne, de me servir de l'exemple de ce qui s'était passé devant Cambray, pour lui faire connaître le peu de succès que l'on devait espérer devant Dunkerque, et de lui dire, sur le siège de Montmédy, qu'il n'avait été entrepris que pour y attirer les ennemis, et laisser à M. de Turenne plus de liberté d'approcher de la mer ; qu'après sa prise, nous avions attaqué Saint-Venant, pour avoir un passage sur la Lys, sans lequel notre armée ne pouvait venir et que depuis les ennemis ayant empêché de passer la Calme, il

avait, avec beaucoup d'adresse et de tactique, gagné la tête des rivières, et pris le poste de Bourbourg pour ensuite attaquer quelque place maritime où il croirait réussir. Mais toutes les forces de Flandres étant derrière le canal de Bergues, et Dunkerque ayant un corps d'armée assez considérable, il n'était pas possible de s'attacher à celle-ci, non plus qu'à Gravelines, à cause du grand corps de troupes qu'ils y ont jeté ; et que Mardyke étant un poste dont la prise est nécessaire devant que de songer à cette première place, il avait cru suivre les intentions du roi, et faire à son Altesse un service agréable, s'il le lui mettait entre les mains ; que je reconnaissais bien que, suivant les termes du traité, nous n'avions pas droit de lui demander nouveau secours d'hommes, ni de munitions, qu'en payant ; mais que la saison étant bien avancée, et le roi se trouvant à Metz, d'où l'on ne peut avoir des ordres, ni les provisions nécessaires, si promptement que d'Angleterre, d'ailleurs notre infanterie étant fort diminuée par les marches qu'elle a faites, et ce corps, que nous avions toujours conservé sans l'exposer à aucun danger ou fatigue, afin de s'en prévaloir du côté de la mer, étant affaibli d'un tiers, et l'entreprise qui se propose n'étant que de trois ou quatre jours, il semblait que M. le Protecteur ne devait pas plaindre les choses qui lui étaient demandées, et ne pouvait recevoir aucun préjudice d'envoyer des hommes pour si peu de temps ; que s'il y trouvait plus d'inconvénient que de profit, et ne jugeait pas que l'acquisition de Mardyke lui pût être assez avantageuse, sans la prise de Dunkerque, pour hazarder des hommes, M. de Turenne ne laisserait pas de faire ce que les lois de la guerre lui permettraient pour l'exécution du traité avec les forces qu'il commandait, et que ce n'était pas l'intention de la cour d'y rien innover, mais plutôt d'abandonner les conquêtes qui nous seraient les plus utiles pour y satisfaire ; qu'ainsi Son Altesse ne devait point prendre en mauvaise part le voyage du Sieur Talon, ni ses demandes, mais plutôt un effet de notre franchise et sincérité. Mon discours ne fut point sans réparties, toutes tendantes à nous excuser de l'inexécution du traité, et je ne manquai pas aussi d'apporter toutes les raisons qui nous devaient justifier de ce reproche. La fin de cette conversation de deux heures fut qu'il ne laisserait pas de continuer dans ses

bons sentiments pour la France, ni de lui donner dans les occasions tout le secours qui serait en son pouvoir, et une offre de quelques canons qu'un commissaire de l'artillerie dans l'armée du roi avait vus dans l'amiral d'Angleterre. Je reçus ces protestations d'amitié avec des assurances d'une sincère correspondance de la part du Roi ; et, sur son offre, je lui proposai de dresser un état de ce qu'il pouvait fournir, afin que M. de Turenne prit des mesures certaines, sans, néanmoins, lui donner ni ôter l'espérance d'aucun siège. Ne voyant pas qu'il offrit des hommes, le dit Sieur Talon, qui était présent à l'audience, l'assura ensuite qu'il avait apporté des ordres très exprès à l'armée de venir du côté de la mer ; que c'était l'intention de Sa Majesté. Ainsi, je le laissai avec un visage un peu plus satisfait qu'il n'avait paru d'abord ; et le soir même le Secrétaire d'Etat m'envoya demander l'explication de quelques articles du Mémoire que l'on lui avait mis entre les mains, et que je lui fisse savoir au juste ce qui serait nécessaire. Après avoir communiqué au Sieur Talon cette demande, et qu'il n'eut pas trouvé à propos d'entrer dans aucune réduction, quoiqu'en effet beaucoup d'articles paraissent excessifs, je lui ai fait savoir ce matin que je ne pouvais pas lui donner l'éclaircissement qu'il désirait sur le dernier point, s'agissant du fait de l'artillerie, dont les officiers demandent quelquefois les choses plus amplement qu'elles ne leur sont nécessaires, crainte d'en manquer ; mais qu'il devait croire que, m'envoyant un état de ce que nous pouvions tirer présentement d'ici, M. de Turenne obligerait de s'en accommoder s'il voyait jour à réussir dans l'autre. Il est demeuré content de cette réponse, et fait dresser un mémoire que le Sieur Talon portera ou enverra à l'armée. Comme il ne se parle point de faire passer des hommes, la peine pourrait bien être assez inutile. Néanmoins, j'ai jugé le devoir laisser faire pour lui persuader davantage que nous souhaitons l'exécution du traité, que le dit Sieur Talon n'est point envoyé ici à dessein de donner de belles paroles, au lieu des effets que M. le Protecteur attendait. Il m'a paru, dans la dernière audience, assez disposé à prendre cette fausse impression, et qu'il doit avoir trouvé dans son conseil des esprits ou peu affectionnés à la France, ou au moins bien enclins à prendre en mauvaise part tout ce qui n'est pas

à leur souhait. Sa froideur me surprend encore davantage lorsque je me représente les offres que m'a faites le Secrétaire d'Etat de toutes les forces d'Angleterre pour favoriser nos desseins sur les places de la mer, et la réputation que lui donnerait l'acquisition d'une place en Flandres, dont je n'ai pas oublié d'exagérer l'importance. Contre toutes ces considérations, il n'apporte que les grandes dépenses qu'il serait obligé de faire pour la conserver. S'il ne revient point, le Roi aura eu au moins la satisfaction de donner des preuves de sa sincérité, et la liberté de porter ses armes où elles pourront agir pour son compte . . . . . .

III.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

1657, 11 Octobre.

MONSIEUR,

J'AI satisfait au principal contenu en la lettre qu'il vous a plu de m'écrire le 5 du présent, dans l'audience que me donna M. le Protecteur le 6. La nouvelle qu'il m'envoya par un gentilhomme de sa chambre de la prise de Mardyke, aussitôt qu'il l'eût apprise par les lettres de son Amiral, me fit désirer de le voir, afin de le congratuler de cette acquisition, et en même temps de reconnaître ce qu'il attendait du reste de la campagne, par les offres que je lui ferais d'informer M. de Turenne de ses sentiments. Il reçut toutes mes civilités et les assurances que je lui donnai du désir qu'avait le roi que son armée pût, devant la fin de l'été, exécuter le dernier traité, avec des marques d'une entière satisfaction et confiance à la sincérité des promesses de Sa Majesté; et, sans entrer plus avant dans la matière, il se mit à railler un des Ministres du Conseil, qui lui servait d'interprète, lui reprochant que, comme pensionnaire des Etats-Généraux, il était fort affligé de la prise de Mardyke. Nous parlâmes ensuite de la situation de la place; de la facilité qu'il y aurait à la conserver, tant que l'Espagne n'aurait point de forces navales; du nombre d'hommes qu'il y faudrait mettre en garnison, et du peu de dépense qu'elle lui apporterait, si le gouverneur savait aussi bien faire valoir la contribution que font ceux de Sa Majesté. Je tâchai de le satisfaire sur tous ces points, et crus y avoir réussi, le laissant persuadé de l'importance de cette conquête.

Il ne s'ouvrit en aucune façon sur celles qui se pourraient faire le reste de l'année. Seulement me témoigna-t-il attendre avec impatience des nouvelles de l'armée, dont il n'avait rien appris depuis la lettre de son Amiral, et me pria de lui en faire savoir, m'offrant communication de ce qui lui serait mandé. Je n'ai point encore satisfait à cette correspondance, n'ayant rien entendu de M. de Turenne depuis dix jours. C'est une marque qu'il ne désire rien d'Angleterre. . . . .

IV.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

1657, 5 Novembre.

[This is an account of an interview with the Protector.]

. . . . . Je passai aux nouvelles de la côte, dont je lui représentai, suivant les avis que m'en avait donnés M. de Turenne, les affaires en tel état, qu'à moins d'un rafraîchissement de garnison, d'une vigilance très grande, et d'un continuelle assistance d'Angleterre, il était difficile de conserver Mardyke, lorsque notre armée seraité loignée. Il me dit que M. Lockart était arrivé la veille ; et que son indisposition ne lui avait pas permis de l'entretenir ; qu'il croyait savoir de lui, le lendemain, ce qui était nécessaire et que je serais après informé de ses sentiments, auxquels je l'assurai que M. de Turenne se conformerait. Deux jours après, M. Lockart me vint voir, et après m'avoir fait connaître, par une assez ample déduction de ce qui s'était passé depuis son arrivée à l'armée, qu'elle avait pu attaquer Dunkerque avec succès, les ennemis n'y ayant que deux mille cinq cents hommes de pied, sans fourrages pour y recevoir de la cavalerie des ennemis, si ruinée qu'a peine leur restait-il quatre mille cinq cents chevaux, qui n'étaient pas capables d'empêcher le siège. Il me déclara fort ouvertement que M. le Protecteur ne pouvait approuver la proposition que faisait M. de Turenne de démolir Mardyke ; que, néanmoins, il ne l'empêcherait pas, et donnerait ordre aux Anglais d'en sortir aussitôt qu'il leur serait commandé ; mais aussi qu'il ne fallait plus, après, songer au dernier traité ; que notre procédé confirmerait le public et les Ministres du Conseil dans la croyance qu'ils ont eue dès le commencement, que le roi ne l'exécuterait point, et que toutes ces dernières démarches ne se faisaient

qu'afin d'amuser M. le Protecteur ; que ce n'était point à lui de conserver Mardyke, ni à s'en charger, à moins que l'on ne lui remit en même temps Gravelines ou Dunkerque ; qu'encore que les Anglais fussent dedans, ce n'était qu'au nom du Roi et sous le commandement de quiconque y serait envoyé de sa part, pourvu qu'il eut assez de qualité pour commander à un colonel. Le dit Sieur Ambassadeur me voulut aussi faire voir, par la carte du pays, que la conservation de ce fort n'était point aussi difficile que l'on la représentait, et me laissa entendre qu'à moins d'un ordre de la cour M. de Turenne n'aurait point changé la résolution qu'il avait prise de favoriser les travaux de cette place, et laissé dans le voisinage une partie de nos troupes en quartier d'hiver, pour la défendre, en cas que les ennemis l'attaquassent. Je n'oubliai rien pour le désabuser, attribuant ce changement à la pure nécessité, et faute d'être informé des motifs particuliers qu'avait M. de Turenne en proposant cette démolition. La fin de tout cet entretien fut que M. le Protecteur s'en tiendrait désobligé, et ne croirait plus que nous fussions en état ni volonté de satisfaire au traité, si nous détruisions une place qui lui doit appartenir ; et le dit Sieur Ambassadeur me témoigna que, si devant son départ il ne pouvait me voir, M. le Secrétaire d'Etat me viendrait communiquer la dernière résolution d'ici. Il y satisfit la semaine passée, m'étant venu tenir les mêmes discours de la part de M. le Protecteur, que j'avais déjà entendus de son ambassadeur, sur la conduite de notre armée et le changement de résolution de M. de Turenne. Il y ajouta que la flotte d'Angleterre n'ayant été mise sur pied que pour favoriser l'attaque des places maritimes de Flandres, aussi bien que la levée et le transport de trois mille Anglais qui sont à notre service dès le commencement de la campagne, et de deux mille, envoyés depuis peu à Mardyke, sans que néanmoins notre armée eut rien exécuté, qu'il n'était pas juste que M. le Protecteur supportât cette dépense, dont Sa Majesté seule avait profité, par la prise de Montmédy et de St. Venant ; qu'il fallait voir comment on en userait la campagne prochaine ; que ce point devait être réglé devant que de prendre des mesures pour l'avenir, n'y ayant pas grande apparence que nous trouvious plus de

facilité que cette année aux sièges de Dunkerque et de Gravelines, les ennemis étant si bien informés du dessein commun ; et que M. Lockart avait ordre de faire cette même déclaration à la cour. Je lui dis, sur le soupçon où il paraissait être que nous eussions eu une véritable intention de satisfaire au traité, tout ce qui me sembla devoir effacer cette impression, sans oublier que nous ne croyions pas pouvoir engager plus assurément l'Angleterre contre l'Espagne, qu'en remettant une de ces deux places entre les mains de M. le Protecteur, et que rien ne pouvait plus avancer nos affaires que l'union de ses intérêts avec les notres ; il n'était pas à présumer que nous eussions manqué de bonne volonté, mais qu'il fallait attribuer à l'impuissance l'inexécution du traité ; quant à la conservation de Mardyke, qu'elle regardait plutôt M. le Protecteur que Sa Majesté ; que cette place était de son partage ; qu'il l'avait même reconnu lorsque je lui proposai l'attaque de cette place, la seule considération des grandes dépenses qu'il faudrait faire pour la maintenir l'ayant fait hésiter sur l'envoi des choses que M. de Turenne desirait pour former le siège ; que néanmoins le Roi ne laisserait pas de contribuer de sa part, autant qu'il lui serait possible, à la conservation de ce fort ; et qu'aussi M. le Protecteur, quand même il serait constant que ce serait à la France seule de porter cette charge, ne devrait pas refuser son assistance, sans laquelle la disposition du pays rendait tous nos soins et dépenses inutiles. Je lui communiquai, pour confirmer cette vérité, une lettre de M. de Turenne qui demande que la garnison soit souvent rafraîchie, et qu'à cet effet M. le Protecteur tienne quelques uns de ses vieux régiments sur la côte d'Angleterre avec des vaisseaux pour les transporter en cas de besoin. Je lui fis voir aussi, par la même lettre, que l'on ne songeait plus à la démolition, et que les nouvelles fortifications étaient déjà en état de ne plus appréhender une surprise, ce qui a paru dans l'attaque que firent les ennemis, la semaine passée ; et qu'enfin il n'épargnerait rien pour satisfaire M. le Protecteur. J'affectai toujours d'être surpris de la proposition d'un remboursement des dépenses qu'il a faites, bien qu'elle ne me fut pas nouvelle, et fis voir au dit secrétaire que le Roi avait bien plus perdu pour s'être attaché à l'exécution du traité, puisque son armée s'y était ruinée, et avait

laissé beaucoup d'autres entreprises dont le succès eut été certain et avantageux à la France ; que l'acquisition de Montmédy et de St. Venant ne pouvait récompenser cette perte, la première de ces places n'étant qu'un château, plus recommandable par la longueur de son siège que par l'avantage que nous en retirerions, et la seconde n'étant qu'un passage, dont se rendra facilement maître quiconque l'osera de la campagne ; que si le traité dernier se renouvelle, comme il y a sujet de le croire, Sa Majesté étant toujours dans les mêmes sentiments à l'égard de l'Angleterre, M. le Protecteur sera bien dédommagé de toutes ses avances par l'acquisition de Dunkerque ou Gravelines, bien plus importantes pour maîtriser la mer que ne l'est Calais, dont les rois d'Angleterre ont autrefois tant fait d'état et la Reine Marie tant regretté la perte. Je fus obligé de m'étendre un peu sur l'avantage de ces places, pour répondre à ce que le Sieur Secrétaire d'Etat me disait, que la plus grande partie du conseil désapprouvait cette conquête, et la regardait comme une occasion d'épuiser l'Angleterre d'hommes et d'argent ; et après lui avoir donné toute espérance qu'elle se ferait l'année prochaine, je le priai de ne me point charger, ni M. Lockart, d'aucune parole de remboursement. Il me protesta, que c'était le désir de M. le Protecteur, et me protesta, néanmoins, qu'il était autant que jamais porté à demeurer uni avec la France. . . . . .

V.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

1657, 26 Novembre.

. . . . Je ne crois pas pouvoir rien ajouter à mes offices passés en faveur de la Suède ; et ses plénipotentiaires me paraissent remplis d'espérances de recevoir enfin quelque fruit. S'il vous plait, Monsieur, me faire part de ce qu'aura obtenu le secrétaire Courtin, je serai en état de leur faire voir que je me suis aussi occupé de ce qu'ils ont désiré de moi, et convierai par cet exemple M. le Protecteur à une semblable contribution. Il professe une grande impuissance, et quoique son revenu soit considérable, les dépenses de terre et de mer en ayant absorbé une grande partie, cette confession pourrait être sincère au moins pour le présent. Aussi ne désavoue-t-il pas qu'à l'avenir il ne puisse assister ses amis et vivre avec

une magnificence royale, si la voix publique et ses plus proches veulent, qu'après la séance du Parlement, il prendra la couronne, et que maintenant l'armée est disposée à le souffrir, quelques uns des plus ennemis de la royauté ayant été réformés, et d'autres envoyés dans le service de France et de Suède. Il parait aussi à Whitehall un autre esprit, les danses y ayant été rétablies ces derniers jours, et les ministres prêchants du vieux temps s'en retirant, pour être trouvés trop mélancoliques. Les officiers subalternes de l'armée en grondent ; mais leurs chefs étant gagnés, tout se passera sans bruit. C'est aussi maintenant l'opinion de quelques uns que la chambre haute ne sera point convoquée devant que l'autre ait rétabli entièrement la royauté, les principaux seigneurs faisant scrupule d'y venir, à cause que, la famille royale ou les républicains rentrant au gouvernement, ils seraient déclarés coupables : au lieu que, suivant un statut fait au commencement du règne de Henri Septième, personne ne peut être recherché pour avoir obéi à celui qui a la couronne sur la tête, quand elle serait acquise injustement. Il serait aussi à craindre qu'en assemblant cette Chambre des Seigneurs, la Chambre des Communes ne se trouvât, par la promotion de ceux qui en auraient été retirés, pour composer l'autre, remplie de membres peu affectionnés et ennemis de la royauté. Ce sont les présentes réflexions qui se font ici sur les affaires du dedans. Les noces de la cadette de M. le Protecteur se firent le 23, sans éclat, et seulement, les trois jours suivants, il y a eu, matin et soir, grand festin pour les parents, les ministres du conseil et les autres amis. Il n'a point été fait de mention des ambassadeurs Je ne laisserai pas de faire des compliments de congratulation, s'il me parait que l'on en veuille recevoir. L'autre mariage s'achévera dans peu de jours, et toute la famille logera dans Whitehall. Le Mylord Richard doit occuper la maison de St. James, que les princes avaient coûtume d'habiter. Mais apparemment ce changement et toute autre nouveauté seront remis jusques à la séance du Parlement. . . . . .

VI.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Londres, 14 Février, 1658.

Je n'ajouterai rien à mes précédentes lettres touchant les affaires étrangères, et je me donne l'honneur d'écrire à Votre Eminence seulement pour l'informer de ce qui s'est passé aujourd'hui. Le Parlement ayant continué de tenir une conduite qui fomentait le mécontentement de quelques sectaires ennemis du gouvernement monarchique, et quelques uns d'entre eux ayant depuis peu pris la liberté de dresser une requête séditieuse, qu'ils prétendaient présenter au Parlement de la République d'Angleterre, à quoi ils étaient encore excités par leurs ministres, qui parlaient hautement et ouvertement contre le gouvernement de M. le Protecteur; pour prévenir les suites de cette liberté, et empêcher quelque jonction de ces factieux avec les députés de la Chambre des Communes qui adhèrent à leurs sentiments, il a pris la résolution de dissoudre le Parlement, et, sur le midi, il est sorti de son palais, dans son carrosse, accompagné seulement d'un lieutenant-colonel, son neveu, et de six hallebardiers, et est allé dans la chambre haute, où il a mandé celle des communes, et, adressant la parole a tout le corps, sous le nom de seigneurs et gentilshommes, il a témoigné beaucoup de regret de se voir privé du fruit qu'il avait espéré de leur assemblée, et déclaré que quelques députés des Communes tâchaient d'exciter soulèvement dans la ville et dans l'armée, que ce corps lui avait donné plus de peine en quinze jours de séance que tous les autres Parlements précédents ensemble, qu'il ne pouvait souffrir la séance plus longtemps, sans un grand préjudice à la nation, et qu'il le dissolvait. Après ces dernières paroles, toute la compagnie s'est séparée, et il n'a paru aucune altération dans la ville ni parmi les troupes, quoique l'on soupçonnât que l'entreprise de ces sectaires, que l'on croit avoir donné lieu à cette dissolution, ne fut fondée sur quelque correspondance avec la milice; et depuis 24 heures, il s'était pris toutes sortes de précautions pour empêcher leurs assemblées, qui se fesaient sous le prétexte de prières et de prêches, et sous le titre de congregations d'Indépendants. Leur requête, qu'ils ont semée par la ville, tendait, entre autres chefs, à ce que les

officiers de l'armée ne puissent être cassés que par un conseil de guerre, afin de se les rendre plus favorables. Il s'était aussi fait hier une déliberation dans le Parlement, qui donnait sujet de mécontentement. La Chambre Haute, pour hâter celle des Communes, lui envoya demander son consentement à un acte qu'elle avait résolu pour éloigner tous les royalistes de Londres, et de dix milles aux environs, comme il se pratique assez souvent, et dans les temps de soupçons. Après quelques débats, savoir s'il serait répondu, il passa, d'une voix seulement, que la Chambre des Communes enverrait, par ses messagers, une réponse à *l'autre Chambre*, au lieu de la nommer *Chambre des Seigneurs*, ce qui décidait en quelque manière la question, qui était encore sur le tapis, touchant sa qualification. Ces sujets de plainte accumulés doivent avoir contraint M. le Protecteur d'en user comme il a fait, bien que le Parlement lui parut nécessaire, pour en retirer de l'argent, les troupes n'étant pas payées de leurs six derniers . . . . Tout le monde s'attend qu'il prendra d'autres voies, et que, s'agissant de l'intérêt de l'armée, elle se portera facilement à tout ce qu'il en désirera. D'autres veulent, que, suivant un usage quelquefois observé sous les rois, il fera une assemblée de notables, sous le nom de grand conseil de la nation, dont il choisira les députés, pour autoriser ses actes et ordonnances. Peu de jours découvriront ses desseins. On peut cependant reconnaître qu'il agit avec une grande confiance, puisque dans la présente conjoncture, il réforme ses troupes. J'apprends qu'en Irlande partie de l'armée doit être licenciée, tout y étant si tranquille, qu'elle peut être gardée avec peu de forces.

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VII.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

1658, 18 Fevrier.

Depuis la dissolution du Parlement, il ne s'est rien passé ici de considérable. L'on a seulement mis dans la Tour de Londres deux ministres de ces sectaires qui avaient dressé la requête, dont l'un s'était fort emporté contre la famille de M. le Protecteur, et lui avait, en chaire, reproché comme un grand crime, de n'avoir liaison qu'avec Votre Eminence, qu'il qualifia Jésuite, terme ordinaire à cette sorte de gens pour

designer les Catholiques sévères, ce qui le rend moins injurieux. Un major de l'armée a aussi été arrêté, et M. le Protecteur manda, avant hier, les officiers de l'armée. Après les avoir traités assez rudement et les avoir accusés de s'être mêlés avec des coquins, il leur mit à tous le marché à la main, offrant de reprendre leurs commissions s'ils n'étaient pas satisfaits du service. Il attribua aussi à une véritable nécessité la dissolution du Parlement, qu'il accusa de représenter les mauvaises humeurs de toute la nation aussi bien que la puissance ; et que même il était devenu le Parlement de Haslerig, qui était un des plus factieux, et l'un des cinq membres que le dernier roi alla demander au Parlement. Il se parle encore d'en appeler un autre, pour subvenir aux nécessité de l'état, que l'on prétend être une dette d'un million de livres st. ; mais n'étant pas certain que de nouveaux députés fussent plus favorables que ces derniers, il semble que toutes autres voies seront tentées, devant que d'en venir à celle-ci, et qu'il sera plutôt usé de ménage, en réformant des troupes, et mettant moins de vaisseaux en mer, afin que le revenu ordinaire fournisse de quoi payer les arrérages dûs aux soldats, qui ne sont pas accoutumés, en ce pays, à rien perdre, quelque nécessité qu'il y puisse être. . . . . .

VIII.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

1658, 4 Mars.

M. LE PROTECTEUR a depuis peu assemblé les officiers de l'armée, et après s'être justifié de tant de cassations de Parlements, il leur a représenté sa nécessité d'argent et exhorté à le seconder, si, pour en tirer, il était contraint d'user de voies extraordinaires. Il leur a, en même temps, fait payer une montre, et remis à son fils aîné son régiment de cavalarie. Il fut reçu à la tête du corps, la semaine passée. Dans la cérémonie, une balle de pistolet l'approcha. L'un de ses gentilshommes, sur le soupçon d'avoir tiré le coup, a été arrêté. Mais, au lieu de ce crime, il s'est trouvé coupable d'avoir falsifié la signature de M. le Protecteur, et donné des passeports à des personnes suspectes. L'un de ses derniers gendres a aussi obtenu le régiment du Sieur Lambert ; et présentement il ne se parle que de faire beaucoup de change-

ments d'officiers dans l'armée. L'autre gendre, petit-fils du comte de Warwick, mourut la semaine passée d'une maladie dont il avait été attaqué peu de jours devant son mariage. M. le Protecteur même a été assez indisposé jusques à être contraint d'user de remèdes soporiphiques. Sa santé est maintenant rétablie, et il commence, dès avant hier, à se laisser voir. Sa maladie n'a pas empêché que, pour prévenir tous inconvénients, différentes personnes n'aient été arrêtées. . . . . .

IX.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

(1658, 25 Mars.)

J'AURAIS mal jugé des affaires d'Angleterre si aucune de mes lettres y avait fait appréhender de la révolution, et je ne puis, pour répondre à celles qu'il vous a plu de m'écrire le 9 du présent, que confirmer ce que mes précédentes ont fait savoir de l'état du présent régime, et qu'il y paraît plus de disposition à la royauté qu'à la ruine de M. le Protecteur. Il manda, sur la fin de la semaine passée, le maire et le conseil de la ville de Londres, et tâcha de remplir leurs esprits de défiance d'une descente du roi d'Ecosse, avec une armée de huit mille chevaux, la représentant à la veille d'être embarquée à Dunkerque dans 22 vaisseaux plats qui étaient préparés pour ce service, et assurant que le Marquis d'Ormont avait été depuis peu à Londres pour y former des intelligences; que même quelques uns d'entre eux l'avaient vu; et après une récapitulation assez ample de l'état du pays et de ce qui s'était passé depuis son administration il convia la ville de se tenir sur ses gardes, d'établir la milice, de la mettre entre les mains de personnes pieuses et bien intentionnées et de concourir avec lui à la conservation du repos public, sans faire aucune demande d'argent, quoique cette compagnie crut être appelée pour ce sujet. Il parla aussi après aux officiers de l'armée, en des termes fort semblables; d'où beaucoup infèrent qu'il y a quelque dessein sur le tapis près d'éclater; et cette croyance est augmentée farl'approche des troupes, étant peu vraisemblable qu'il se passe en Flandres aucun embarquement contre l'Angleterre; et cette allarme est un moyen fort souvent pratiqué pour retenir l'armée, et tous ceux qui ont été engagés

contre la famille royale, plus attachés au présent gouvernement. Il passe d'ailleurs pour très constant que quelques régiments de l'armée d'Ecosse ont fait des déclarations très soumises, que les principaux officiers de celle d'Angleterre sont devenus favorables à la royauté, á des conditions qui ne s'accordent pas bien à l'établissement de M. le Protecteur; mais s'ils avaient fait une démarche contraire ce ne lui serait pas une grande peine de lui faire reprendre son ancienne forme, le peuple s'y trouvant fort enclin, pour prévenir une seconde guerre civile. Il n'y a que la levée d'argent sans l'approbation du Parlement qui puisse le choquer; et le revenu public étant double de celui dont les rois d'Angleterre ont joui, il semble que M. le Protecteur ni soit nécessité d'encourir la haine de toute la nation, pour avoir de nouveaux fonds, sans lesquels, mettant moins de vaisseaux à la mer, il peut entretenir la guerre contre l'Espagne. Le bruit s'était bien répandu que, faute d'argent, il serait contraint de s'accommoder; mais personne n'a cru que, traitant avec cette couronne, il voulut se déclarer contre la France, et je ne vois pas que son intérêt lui permette, ni qu'il fut moins exposé aux dépenses pour l'une que pour l'autre guerre. Ainsi fesant, la paix se ferait afin que, n'ayant rien à faire au dehors, il lui restât une entière liberté de travailler aux établissements du dedans. Le traité que M. Lockart doit maintenant avoir renouvelé, guérit toutes ces sortes de défiances. Pour quelque temps, et pourvu que l'armée de sa Majesté entreprenne un siège sur la côte, elle peut attendre grande assistance d'Angleterre, nonobstant les soulèvements dont au dehors l'on publie qu'elle est menacée. . . . . .

X.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Londres, le 17 Juin, 1658.

J'ai reçu aujourdhui la lettre que Votre Eminence m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 16. Pour satisfaire au contenu, je n'ai pas manqué d'envoyer sur l'heure demander audience. Elle a été remise à demain, à cause de l'indisposition dangereuse de l'une des filles de M. le Protecteur. Ce retard m'empêchera de rendre compte par la présente des sentiments particuliers de Son Altesse, sur tout ce que votre Eminence a

ordonné de lui faire savoir ; mais je puis par avance l'assurer que la défaite des ennemis a causé ici une joie très particulière. La nouvelle en arriva hier au matin a Londres. Aussitôt, le capitaine des gardes de M. le Protecteur, accompagné d'un des gentilshommes de la chambre, me l'apporta, et il fut mandé aux ministres qui étaient lors en chaire, de l'annoncer au peuple. Le Secrétaire d'Etat, deux heures après, m'en envoya la confirmation avec des demonstrations de joie extraordinaires. Il est vrai que, la veille, l'alarme était ici fort grand, que les ennemis n'attaquassent et forçassent nos lignes. Cette crainte et l'instance que j'avais faite pour l'envoi d'un renfort d'infanterie, avaient porté M. le Protecteur à commander encore 1700 hommes, dont partie fut embarquée au pont de Londres, avant hier, et le Secrétaire d'Etat m'avait mandé que Son Altesse enverrait encore plus grand nombre, mais qu'il fallait quelques jours pour les transporter, les troupes se trouvant éloignées des côtes d'Angleterre, qui répondent à celles de Flandres. J'en donnai sur l'heure avis à M. de Turenne, par courrier exprès, et j'apprends qu'il les a contremandées, n'en ayant pas présentement besoin. Toutes ces diligences et bonnes dispositions confirmeront à Votre Eminence que l'affaire était ici fort à cœur. Je ne manquerai, après les congratulations, d'en faire des remerciments à M. le Protecteur, et de prendre quelque autre temps pour en faire aussi civilité au Secrétaire d'Etat. On ne doute point que Dunkerque ne se rende bientôt, ne restant plus à la garnison aucune espérance de secours, et sans doute, le Roi se prévalant de la chaleur qui me paraît ici pour appuyer ses desseins. Il trouvera grande facilité à la conquête des autres places maritimes. Je ne puis pas dire qu'une si bonne nouvelle soit reçue ici de tout le monde avec même esprit. Il y a encore trop de factions, pour attendre cette uniformité de sentiments ; et il est vrai que, hors les personnes affectionnées au présent régime, peu d'autres voient avec joie les prospérités communes, dont M. le Protecteur tirera, outre l'acquisition d'une place estimée très-importante, cet avantage, que le parti royaliste perdra l'espérance qu'il avait conçue d'une descente d'étrangers en leur faveur. Je ne manquerai pas d'annoncer la venue de M. le Duc de Créqui et de M.

de Mancini. On ne s'attendait ici qu'au dernier ; et l'honneur qu'il a d'appartenir à Votre Eminence tenait lieu d'un titre aussi considérable que celui de duc. Il recevra sans doute des marques de la satisfaction qu'a remportée de leurs Majestés et de Votre Eminence le Mylord Fockambrige, arrivé à Londres avant hier. Je ne l'ai point encore vu ; mais il m'en a fait des excuses, accompagnées de démonstrations de reconnaissance du bon accueil qui lui a eté fait. Il s'est absenté le lendemain de son arrivée, pour n'être pas présent à l'exécution de son oncle, dont il n'a pu obtenir qu'un changement de supplice. Les deux condamnés doivent avoir demain la tête tranchée. Je puis assurer Votre Eminence que je ne l'aurais pas importunée de la prière qu'elle a reçue, si la fille même de M. le Protecteur ne m'en eût fait instance ; et quand je m'y rendis, ce fut après avoir fait connaître que, si le Mylord Fockambrig . . . . étant la cour, n'en avait point parlé, difficilement le Roi ou Votre Eminence s'engageraient à cette recommandation, vû le crime dont il s'agit. La réponse que j'ai rendue aujourd'hui aux parents du condamné les a satisfaits, et ils ont reconnu que difficilement cette grâce pouvait s'obtenir. Comme mon audience a été remise à demain, peut être pour éviter mes offices, je serai dispensé de les rendre, et j'ai d'ailleurs reconnu qu'ils seraient inutiles. La cour de justice se rassemblera. Le témoin qui s'était sauvé ayant été repris, ou pourra bien juger d'autres prisonniers. Il ne s'est rien passé tous ces jours, qui mérite d'être écrit.—Les officiers qui lèvant les trois régiments me sont venus dire aujourd'hui que le Colonel Tomson leur avait enfin écrit que son fils étant mort rien ne l'empêchait de passer bientôt en Angleterre. Je ne leur ai pas encore déclaré que Sa Majesté se contenterait des 1500 hommes ; mais il y a lieu de croire qu'elle n'aura pas grand besoin du surplus qu'ils avaient offert . . .

APPENDIX XXVII.

I.—MAZARIN TO CROMWELL.

MONSIEUR, Calais, 12 Juin, 1658.

JE suis confus des termes obligeants dont il a plu à Votre Altesse Sérénissime de se sirvir, dans la lettre que j'ai

reçue de sa part en dernier lieu, et de toutes les civilités que M. le Vicomte de Falcombridge y a ajoutées de vive-voix. Il pourra lui-même informer V. A. S. de l'accueil que Leurs Majestés et toute la cour lui ont fait, et de l'application avec laquelle on continue ici à faire tous les efforts possibles pour le bon succès du siège de Dunkerque. Il serait à souhaiter que nous eussions plus d'infanterie, quoique Sa Majesté y ait envoyé généralement tout ce qu'elle a pu, sans retenir même auprès d'elle une seule compagnie de ses régiments des gardes; aussi je ne doute point que V. A. S. n'ait donné ses ordres pour nous envoyer le renfort qu'elle a promis, et que nous n'apprenions d'un moment à l'autre son arrivée dans le camp. Elle agréera que, me remettant du surplus à mon dit sieur Viscomte, je finisse, &c. &c.

II.— MAZARIN TO MR. LOCKHART.

MONSIEUR, Calais, 17 Juin, 1658.

J'AI reçu la lettre qu'il vous a plu de m'écrire, et je suis très obligé à V. Ex. des nouvelles assurances qu'elle me donne de son amitié et des termes dont elle parle de l'action que s'est passée en dernier lieu, et de la personne de Monsieur de Castelnau, lequel, de son côté, relève, comme il est obligé, la généreuse et intrépide conduite de V. Ex. et la bravoure du corps Anglais qu'elle commande. J'ai envoyé un gentilhomme exprès pour me réjouir avec elle d'un si glorieux événement, si avantageux aux deux nations, et qui doit, par plusieurs raisons satisfaire au dernier point S. A. S. Monsieur le Protecteur, et confondre non moins les mal-intentionnés de Londres que ceux de Paris. J'ai écrit à Monsieur de Bordeaux d'en féliciter S. A. de ma part, et Monsieur le duc de Créqui, que le Roi a choisi pour répondre au compliment que S. A. lui a fait, satisfera aussi à ce qui est de la réjouissance pour le gain de la bataille. Je fais état d'envoyer avec le dit sieur Duc mon neveu pour assurer S. A. plus particulièrement de mon très-humble service. J'ai recours à V. Ex. pour avoir au plus tôt un bon vaisseau ici, avec ordre d'emmener le dit sieur Duc et y attendre son retour pour le ramener ici.

III.—LOUIS XIV. TO CROMWELL.

MONSIEUR LE PROTECTEUR, Calais, 19 Juin, 1658.

AYANT beaucoup de sentiment des témoignages que j'ai reçus de votre affection, par le Vicomte de Falconbridge, votre gendre, je n'ai pu me contenter d'y avoir répondu par son moyen, et j'ai désiré de vous donner encore des marques plus expresses de la mienne, en vous envoyant mon cousin le Duc de Créqui, premier gentilhomme de ma chambre, auquel j'ai ordonné de vous faire particulièrement connaitre quelle est l'estime en laquelle je tiens votre personne, et combien je fais d'état de votre amitié. Je l'ai aussi chargé de vous témoigner la joie que j'ai ressentie du glorieux succès de nos armes en l'heureuse journée du 14 de ce mois, et comme cette victoire et la vigueur avec laquelle Dunkerque continue à être pressée, me font espérer la réduction de la place dans peu de jours; a quoi je ne cesserai point de m'appliquer avec les mêmes soins que j'ai pris dès le commencement du siège. Et bien que j'ai informé mon dit cousin le Duc de Créqui de mes intentions, comme aussi du détail de cette action pour vous en faire le récit, je ne puis pourtant que je ne vous dise par cette lettre que le Sieur Lockart, votre ambassadeur vers moi, s'est signalé par sa valeur et sa conduite en cette rencontre, et que les troupes que vous m'avez envoyées y ont donné, à son exemple, des preuves de générosité et de courage extraordinaires. Du surplus, je me promets que vous voudrez bien, ainsi que je vous en prie, prendre une entière créance en ce que mon dit cousin vous dira de ma part, et surtout qu'il n'y a rien que je désire davantage que de vous faire connaitre par effet jusqu'à quel point vos intérêts me sont chers.

Pourquoi, me remettant à lui de ce que je pourrais ajouter à la présente, je ne la ferai plus longue que pour prier Dieu qu'il vous ait, Monsieur le Protecteur, en sa sainte et digne garde. Ecrit à Calais, le 19 Juin, 1658.

(Signé) LOUIS.

IV.— M. DE BRIENNE TO M. DE BORDEAUX.

MONSIEUR, Calais, 20 Juin, 1658.

J'AI reçu ordre du Roi de prévenir de cette lettre l'arrivée de Monsieur le duc de Créqui à Londres pour vous

donner avis du sujet de son voyage, qui est que, sur l'envoi qui a été fait par Monsieur le Protecteur de Monsieur le Vicomte de Falconbridge, son gendre, vers S. M. pour lui témoigner sa joie de son arrivée en cette frontière, et de l'avancement des desseins auxquels les armes communes sont employées. Il a charge de la part de S. M. de faire connaître son ressentiment à Monsieur le Protecteur, comme aussi de lui faire part de la victoire que M. de Turenne a remportée sur les ennemis aux Dunes de Dunkerque, et d'assurer mon dit Sieur le Protecteur de l'affection et de l'estime particulière de S. M. ; à quoi j'ai eu commandement exprès de S. M. d'ajouter que son intention est qu'aussitôt que vous saurez l'arrivée de M. de Créqui à Londres, vous l'alliez visiter ; et que comme il a ordre de vous donner la main droite au-dessus de lui dans son logis, S. M. désire que vous la lui donniez pareillement dans le vôtre, lorsqu'il vous rendra la visite.

Il ne me reste qu'à vous supplier, etc.

V.—MAZARIN TO CROMWELL.

MONSIEUR, Mardyke, 25 Juin.

JE crois que V. A. S. n'aura pas désagréable que je lui témoigne ma joie pour la prise de ; Dunkerque la conquête est si considérable et V. A. S. y a tant d'intérêt, qu'il serait malaisé que ceux qui font profession, comme moi, de s'interesser à sa gloire et à ses avantages, se puissent taire en une semblable rencontre. Le Roi dépêche le Sieur Sanguin pour se réjouir avec Elle de ce succès qui, par soi et par ses circonstances, fera un grand éclat dans ce monde et sera fort décisif à l'égard des ennemis communs, qui ne s'attendaient pas de recevoir un tel coup. Monsieur l'Ambassadeur Lockart entretiendra V. A. S. plus en détail de cette action et de toutes choses, et je m'assure qu'il ne manquera pas de l'informer avec quelle affection et ponctualité on a satisfait à tout ce qu'on avait promis et au-delà, sans pardonner ni à dépenses, ni à diligences, ni à aucun effort qui ait été dans mon pouvoir, pour assurer l'acquisition de cette place, qui sera, dès aujourd'hui, mise au pouvoir de V. A. S. laquelle je m'assure avoir la bonté de donner tous les ordres nécessaires pour l'accomplissement de tout ce qui a été promis de sa part,

afin que je puisse ainsi confondre les mal-intentionnés et mes envieux, faisant voir à toute la France que si j'ai employé mes soins et apporté des facilités pour la satisfaction de V. A. S. je l'ai fait dans l'assurance que ce royaume en retirerait aussi de solides avantages.

Je supplie V. A., etc. etc.

VI.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Londres, 27 Juin, 1658.

Je ne doute point que M. le Duc de Créqui ne rende compte de sa réception ; elle a été avec autant de cérémonie que celle des ambassadeurs, mais l'audience a eu quelque différence, Monsieur le Protecteur ne l'ayant pas donnée dans le lieu ordinaire et étant demeuré découvert. Il m'envoie tous les jours le maître-des-cérémonies pour reconnaître s'il y a rien qui les puisse choquer ; et je crois que M. de Mancini reconnait que Son Altesse ne désire pas moins de lui témoigner le ressentiment qu'Elle professe avoir des civilités que Votre Eminence lui a fait faire ; elle en sera encore plus particulièrement informée à son retour.

VII.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Londres, 1 Juillet, 1658.

Le retour de M. le Duc de Créqui et de M. de Mancini informera Votre Eminence des particularités de leur voyage et des civilités que l'on a continué de leur faire. J'espère aussi qu'Elle saura que je n'ai rien oublié pour témoigner à M. de Mancini le respect que j'ai pour ce qui lui appartient ; et si les occasions se fussent présentées de lui rendre quelque service, je les aurais embrassées avec une joie très particulière. J'ajouterai seulement que l'on a eu ici un grand désir de faire paraitre une entière satisfaction de cet envoi et du traitement qu'a reçu M. de Falconbridge.

APPENDIX XXVIII.

I.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

1658, 22 Août.

. . . . Je n'ai pas encore eu occasion d'entretenir sur ce sujet M. le Protecteur ni le Secrétaire d'Etat. L'un et

l'autre sont toujours à la campagne, et le dernier s'est envoyé excuser la semaine passée deux fois de ce qu'il ne pouvait pas me voir. Il ne paraît pas néanmoins présentement de grandes affaires au dedans, ni qu'il y ait rien sur le tapis, que la convocation du Parlement. Il se parle aussi de temps en temps de la royauté ; mais avec si peu de certitude qu'il ne se peut pas dire que ce soit une résolution bien determinée. Ce n'est pas qu'elle ne soit fort souhaitée par le général de la nation, et que l'acquisition faite en Flandres conciliant à M. le Protecteur l'affection du peuple, ce ne lui soit une démarche moins dangereuse que par le passé. Il a fait rendre des actions de grâces par toute l'Angleterre pour cette conquête ; et afin d'accommoder en quelque façon son ordre au rite usité, sans nous donner sujet de crainte, au lieu de promettre qu'elle sera de grand avantage à la religion protestante, il ne parle plus que de la propagation de la religion Chrétienne. Ce changement a été assez remarqué. L'on a en même temps publié que l'une de ses filles, qui est très dangereusement malade, refusait l'assistance des ministres Protestants, et voulait mourir dans l'église romaine, ce qui est peu vraisemblable. Pour balancer ces bruits, les Presbytériens sont fort caressés. Le Mylord Henri a paru les favoriser dans une assemblée qu'il a faite en Irlande des Ministres de toutes les sectes, pour aviser aux moyens d'une réconciliation. Une autre assemblée a été tenue dans le Pays de Galles à cette même fin ; et dans la suite du temps, les Presbytériens pourront prendre le dessus des autres religions —Les Catholiques sont en repos, et les prêtres prisonniers s'élargissent les uns après les autres . . . . . .

II.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

1651, 2 Septembre.

DEPUIS le retour de M. de Montgaillard, il ne s'est rien passé qui m'ait donné sujet d'écrire à Votre Eminence. L'indisposition de M. le Protecteur a toujours continué, et il n'est pas encore tout à fait délivré de la fièvre tierce ; mais les derniers accès ont été si faibles, qu'elle ne cause aucune appréhension. L'on ne laisse pas de croire que l'alarme a été assez grande dans sa famille, pour lui faire souhaiter la nomination d'un successeur, et que M. le Protecteur a désigné

son fils aîné; que cette résolution sera publiée après que quelques mesures auront été prises, et qu'à cet effet il retournera dans peu à Londres. Il se parle aussi de la royauté et elle ne recevra plus d'opposition si la succession n'en trouve point. Déjà même quelques provinces l'ont demandée, comme le seul moyen d'établir une ferme tranquillité dans la nation, et leurs requêtes ont été imprimées. Les personnes de condition ne souhaitent pas moins cette forme de gouvernement, qu'ils appréhendent la puissance des républicains; et c'est aujourd'hui une créance fort générale que la perte de M. le Protecteur aurait été source de beaucoup de désordres. . . .

III.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

1658, 10 Septembre (3 heures après midi).

Je crois devoir donner en diligence l'avis qui me vient d'être envoyé de la prochaine mort de M. le Protecteur. Elle est attendue d'heure en heure; et le mieux d'hier n'était qu'un affaiblissement de ses forces. Sa famille n'avait pas cru jusqu'à cette heure le mal si dangereux, et n'a point usé d'aucune précaution pour l'avenir, personne n'osant parler de la succession. Il ne s'en est aussi rien dit dans l'assemblée des officiers de l'armée, le Général Fleetwood ne les ayant entretenus que de matières de dévotion. Aussi, l'on ne peut encore dire certainement quel sera le successeur, ni si la republique se rétablira après la mort. M. Folkambrige, qui m'a envoyé la confirmation de cet avis, me charge d'assurer Votre Eminence de son zèle pour les intérêts de la France, dont il donnera des marques, si la fortune veut que le gouvernement demeure dans la famille. Les républicains s'y pourront opposer, bien que l'on ne voie encore aucune altération, ce qui peut être attribué au peu de danger que l'on avait cru jusques à présent. Si la disgrace arrive, j'agirai suivant les dispositions qui me paraîtront, en attendant les ordres dont il plaira à Votre Eminence d'honorer celui qui est avec respect. . . .

En fermant la présente, l'on me vient de mander que M. le Protecteur était aux abois de la mort.

IV.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

1658, 11 Septembre.

J'AVAIS reçu hier de si bonne part l'avis du grand danger de M. le Protecteur, et même de sa mort, depuis que le gentilhomme que je dépêchai fut parti, qu'il y avait lieu de la croire certaine. Mais présentement celui qui m'avait envoyé cette nouvelle me mande que, par un bonheur tout extraordinaire, lorsque l'on le croyait près d'expirer, la nature avait fait un effort et que maintenant il y avait à espérer. Le même, et c'est le Mylord Falkombridge, ajoute que la famille va se prévaloir de ce bon moment pour établir le Mylord Richard, et donner un ordre pour l'assemblée d'un Parlement, afin que si mal recommence, ce qui ne peut arriver sans causer la mort, tout soit disposé à conserver la puissance dans la famille. Cet avis m'étant confirmé d'ailleurs, je crois le devoir donner avec autant de diligence que celui d'hier, crainte qu'il ne fit prendre des mesures sur un fondement peu certain. Ce n'est pas que quelques-uns n'assurent encore la mort, et ne veuillent qu'elle se dissimule pour pouvoir faire des établissements devant que les républicains se mettent en campagne, et n'agissent dans l'armée, dont les officiers ne se déclarent point. Ils se contentent de prier Dieu dans leur assemblée pour la santé de M. le Protecteur. Il est néanmoins difficil de cacher longtemps un si grand événement, y ayant tant de personnes curieuses et intéressées à le savoir. La poste de demain pourra donner un entier éclaircissement, et si elle ne passait point, ce serait une confirmation de la mauvaise nouvelle. Je suis avec respect . . . . .

L'on me vient encore de confirmer la bonne santé de M. le Protecteur, jusqu'à l'assurer hors de danger, la fièvre l'ayant quitté ; et il se parle d'une révélation qu'il eut, il y a trois jours, que Dieu le garantirait de cette maladie.

V.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

1658, 13 Septembre.

LORSQUE j'écrivis hier mes lettres, les médecins assuraient la santé de M. le Protecteur ; mais, peu d'heures après, il tourna à la mort ; et le Mylord Falcambrige me mande qu'il vient d'expirer. Il a eu le temps de nommer son fils aîné pour

successeur, et toute la famille espère que l'armée ne l'aura pas désagréable, après les dispositions où ils parurent avant hier, et les précautions qui ont été prises dans les armeés d'Ecosse et d'Irlande, dont l'on espère bien. Je n'ai pas manqué de faire tous les jours, tant au dit Sieur Mylord qu'au Secrétaire d'Etat, toutes sortes d'offres de la part du Roi, même des troupes, s'il en fallait, pour le nouvel établissement. Ils ont témoigné se sentir particulièrement obligés de cette bonne volonté, et le Secrétaire d'Etat me mande qu'ils me viendront remercier, et communiquer l'état de leurs affaires. Présentement, les ministres du conseil sont assemblés, et comme la mort n'est pas encore sue que des particuliers amis, il ne parait aucune altération ni dans la ville, ni dans les troupes, de l'union desquelles dépendent la tranquillité du pays et l'établissement de Mylord Richard. Le Lieutenant-Général Fleetwood fait un peu de peine, et l'on n'est point encore assuré qu'il ne se détachera point des intérêts de la famille pour établir la république, au quel cas, le secours des alliés pourrait être nécessaire, pour abattre dans le commencement le parti qui se pourrait former. Je donnerai toutes bonnes paroles, persuadé que si, suivant les apparences, le Mylord Richard réussit, il enaura de la reconnaissance, et que, quand il succomberait, elles ne seraient d'aucun préjudice. L'argent pourrait bien aussi être désiré pour faire d'abord un donatif aux troupes, et il n'y aurait rien à perdre en le prêtant, si elles ne se séparent des intérêts de la famille de M. le Protecteur. Je me conduirai, dans cette conjoncture, suivant des dispositions qui me paraîtrent. Je tiendrai Votre Eminence exactement informée de ce qui se passera. Il lui plaira aussi de m'envoyer ses ordres, et de me croire avec respect. . . .

J'avis oublié qu'il m'a été aussi mandé que l'on était fort assuré de la flotte. Quelques heures donneront lieu d'écrire avec plus de certitude.

VI.—M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

1658, 13 Septembre (à 8 heures du soir).

Je viens présentement d'être averti qu'après la mort de M. le Protecteur, le conseil s'est assemblé, et, sur la relation

de cinq d'entre eux, qui ont assuré qu'hier au soir M. le Protecteur, pa run testament nuncupatif, avait nommé son fils aîné son successeur, le conseil l'a reconnu pour Protecteur, et l'a, sur l'heure, fait savoir aux officiers de l'armée qui étaient aussi assemblés. Ils l'ont tous unanimement agrée, avec démonstrations de joie, et demain il sera proclamé. Comme la ville est disposée à s'y soumettre, l'on peut attendre que les mal-intentionnés à cette forme de gouvernement n'oseront pas se déclarer, et que l'on ne verra ici aucun changement. Je crois devoir donner cette nouvelle avec autant de diligence que j'en ai usé pour faire savoir la mort, puis que celle-ci doit diminuer le déplaisir que l'autre peutavoir causé. Il sera sans doute jugé à propos de m'envoyer des lettres du Roi sur ce changement, pour les présenter au nouveau Protecteur. Je ne laisserai pas néanmoins de témoigner en attendant la joie qu'elle aura de son exaltation, et dont la conduite que j'ai tenue l'aura déjà persuadé. Je crois que Votre Eminence trouvera aussi à propos de faire par lettre les mêmes compliments que je ferai de sa part. Ce sont les seules démarches qui me paraissent présentement nécessaires, et, en attendant que la suite me donne lieu d'y rien ajouter, je supplierai Votre Eminence d'honorer de la continuation de ses bonnes graces celui qui est avec respect . . . . . .

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